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AMERICA

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Chronicle

Home News.—The outstanding features of the Conference during the past week were the agreement of the nations on certain broad general principles of policy which are to guide their relations towards China, with certain specific applications of those principles to existing conditions, and the announcement of French views on the question of the reduction of land armament by the French Premier.

The agreement of the nations on the general principles, which are to be made the basis of their future relations towards China, was expressed in a resolution drafted by Mr. Root, and somewhat amended by the delegates. All the Powers accepted the resolution. China, naturally, did not vote, as there was no question of a contract between China and the Powers, but rather of a consensus of opinion on the attitude that the Powers, individually and collectively, were determined to maintain in their dealings with China and the Chinese people. The text follows:

It is the firm intention of the Powers attending this conference hereinafter mentioned, to wit., the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan,

the Netherlands and Portugal: (1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. (2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself effective and stable government. (3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China. (4) To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of friendly States and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

This resolution was adopted by the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and, if given formal recognition by the Powers, would inaugurate a new era of development and prosperity for China; it would also supersede, so it is thought, previous agreements with China, because it would involve an international pledge to which all Powers concerned would subscribe.

The Chinese delegation was disappointed at the substitution of this policy for the ten principles which they themselves had proposed, and in particular, at the fact that the Powers were careful to avoid any mention of the present Chinese Republic, and speak throughout of China. Underlying this deliberate choice of words is the conviction on the part of the Powers that the affairs of China are still in a state of transition and lack permanent stability. Moreover, they did not believe that they should concern themselves with the domestic affairs of that country, or with any particular form of government, but should confine themselves to the broad interests of the Chinese people. The resolution, however, though less detailed than the ten principles enunciated by the Chinese delegation, covers most of the ground involved in those principles, and paves the way for specific proposals within their general scope.

Acting on the guarantee of administrative integrity given China in the resolution, Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to London and delegate to the Conference, claimed on behalf of China the right to control her own tariff rates. Accordingly, he proposed that China should ultimately be given full autonomy in the matter of tariffs; that, pending the possibility of effecting this complete change to a new regime, which would be inaugurated at a date to be determined, China should be empowered to fix and differentiate tariff rates with full freedom within a maximum of *ad valorem* rates. He further asked that,

in view of present financial stress, on and after January 1, 1922, the Chinese import tariff be raised to twelve and one-half per cent. Mr. Koo's proposals were referred by the Committee to a sub-committee which, with the aid of experts, will subject them to examination and later report on the matter to the Committee.

A plea was also made by Dr. Chung-hui Wang, Chief Justice of China, for the gradual elimination of extra-territorial rights. The grounds of the petition were the evident limitation of Chinese administrative integrity, the great difficulty of administering justice according to a system in which foreigners have the right to demand that their own code of laws be applied in civil and criminal cases to which they are a party, the inevitable lowering of public esteem for the Chinese legislation, the humiliation involved for China in such procedure, the dislike and distrust engendered by it for foreigners, the injustice of the immunity from local taxes and excises enjoyed by foreigners, and the marked change in conditions which has taken place since the system was established. The Chief Justice was not certain that the progress made in Chinese legislation was sufficient to warrant the immediate abolition of extra-territorial rights, but he believed that considerable modifications in their application might be safely applied. The Chinese delegation, therefore, asked that a date be fixed on which the Powers would relinquish extra-territorial rights, and that negotiations be begun for the progressive modification and ultimate complete abolition of these rights. The Conference accepted the views of the Chinese delegation, in principle, and decided to refer the investigation of the matter to an international commission of jurists who would visit China next year and report to the Governments concerned.

On the same grounds of limitation of administrative integrity, Dr. Sze asked that alien postal systems should be abolished in China. This abuse was an infringement on Chinese rights, and a humiliation, it deprived China of legitimate revenue, and was wholly unnecessary, because the native system was the cheapest and one of the most efficient in the world. The Committee approved of Dr. Sze's representations, and a sub-committee was appointed to draft a resolution to that effect.

The question of the limitation of land armament was brought before the Conference, on November 21, by Premier Briand. He declared that France had already

Limitation of Land

Armament reduced her army by one-third, and that within a short time it would be further reduced to half the size it was at the time of the armistice. Further than that France could and would not go. Her attitude was far from being a desire to maintain a military supremacy in Europe; all she wanted was peace and security for the future against another unprovoked attack on the part of Germany. At present France had no feeling of security.

Although a portion of the German people, he said, was

sincerely desirous of peace, and Chancellor Wirth was doing all that he could to fulfil the engagements of Germany, on the other hand there was another portion of the people that was cherishing the same preoccupations and ambitions as the Hohenzollerns. Germany, he said, was still a potential menace to France, and France, as a consequence, must protect herself. Germany, he continued, haggled over signing the treaty, and has refused to abide by her pledged word; she has refused to pay compensation for the devastated regions, to punish the men guilty of war-crimes, to disarm. Attempts, happily frustrated, were made to return to the old order of things, and further attempts of the same kind are still, according to M. Briand, in the minds of men high in German life. He quoted from Marshal Ludendorff's recent book to show that in the opinion of that former leader of the German armies, war was still, and should be, the cornerstone of all intelligent policy, and chiefly of the German people, and that the Entente would not be able to take from the German people, in spite of all efforts, the thought that war was the only decisive policy.

Passing on from policy to more concrete facts, he gave instances to prove that Germany could rise in a few weeks, and could begin to raise, almost at once, at least 6,000,000 men with their officers for offensive warfare. He went into details to indicate how Germany is keeping her 7,000,000 soldiers in readiness for the call. He further showed how Germany could turn her war industries into full activity in a very short time, and how she had already purchased important plants in Scandinavia and other parts of Europe. Added to the French anxiety over Germany's avowed policy and her potential armies, there was also serious doubt as to what Russia might do. Russia had an actual army of 600,000 men and a potential army of 1,500,000 men. The possibility of German exploitation and arming of Russia was too patent to be ignored.

M. Briand said that France would adopt other plans, if the nations assured her that they would put all their means at the disposal of France in order to secure her safety. This, however, he could not expect the Powers to do, and therefore France must be allowed to do the only thing she could do to meet the situation. In conclusion he pointed out the disastrous effect of "moral disarmament." If, he said, the opinion got abroad that France was the only country that was opposed to disarmament, and that in her attitude she stood quite alone, the militaristic party in Germany would grow and become an increasing danger; if, on the other hand, it was made clear that France was not alone, then the preparation for war in Germany would cease and the hope of peace would be realized.

The reception accorded M. Briand's speech, if it was not all that he desired, was calculated to reassure him against the possibility of isolation for France. The British, Italian, Japanese, Belgian and American delegates expressed their admiration for the stand taken by France in

the war, their confidence in the sincerity of her desire for peace, their appreciation of the difficulties which confronted her, and their realization of the difference between naval and land disarmament. Senator Schanzer of Italy said that Italy planned to reduce her army to 170,000; Baron Cartier of Belgium declared that his country, while reducing her land forces to the lowest possible limit consistent with national defense, could not think of further limitation to her army. Mr. Balfour pointed out that it was impossible, in view of Great Britain's sacrifices in the war, to doubt what his country's attitude would be should the cause of international peace again be endangered. Mr. Hughes said that no words ever spoken by France have fallen on deaf ears in the United States. He added that France, the defender of liberty and justice, need have no fear of isolation. He informed the delegates that the matter of the limitation of land armament would be referred, in accordance with their wishes, to the Committee on Armament. The meeting then adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

Central America.—Representatives of the three countries, Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador, which recently formed the Federal Union of Central America, have

**Constitution Unfair
to Catholics**

reached Washington and will soon officially confer with the State Department in order to obtain recognition of the newly created Federation. As already stated in AMERICA, the Catholics of the former independent Republics of Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador, are not satisfied with some of the articles of the new Federal Constitution. It is not surprising therefore to learn that the Catholic Bishops of two of the countries which joined the Federation, Salvador and Honduras, vigorously protested against the anti-Christian spirit which animates certain sections of the Constitution. Those against which the Bishops protest, prohibit the establishment of monastic Orders, deny to the clergy certain civic rights enjoyed by the rest of the citizens, deny any contractual force to marriage by religious ceremony, and deprive religious organizations of the right to conduct schools.

In the Pastoral Letter issued by the Bishops of Salvador in protest against these articles, they quote from the Farewell Address of Washington in order to prove that religion, and not merely an ethical sanction, is required to secure a just government. "We hoped," the Bishops say, "that on the basis of the treaty of San José, no attack would be made on the freedom of education in any State of the Federation, but Article 35 surprises and grieves us when it says: 'The instruction given by the Government shall be secular.'" To this the Bishops add that education alone, without religious principles to guide it, is not only futile, but harmful. With regard to that constitutional enactment that is practically a ban placed upon religious orders, the Pastoral Letter says:

Article 38, the first part of which guarantees the freedom

of religious association, forbids in the second part the establishment of conventual congregations and of every kind of monastic association or institution. Is this not a contradiction? Is this not legislation on religious matters such as is prohibited by the Treaty and in this same Federal Constitution in article 33? Above all, is it not an attack on the Holy Catholic religion of the people of Central America?

The Bishops also protest against the omission of the name of God in the new Constitution. These manly words of the Bishops are not prompted by any opposition to the Federation itself. The Bishops were among the first and most able and eloquent supporters of the movement for the Union, as they fully realized that if brought about legally and constitutionally, it would greatly conduce to the stability and prosperity of Central America. They are not now plotting the unconditional rejection of the Constitution, but are only endeavoring to eliminate its objectionable features. They are anxious to secure a just and liberal Constitution in the noblest sense of the word, one which, while respecting the rights of all citizens, will take into account the racial conditions, the history and traditions of the Republics which have now formed a Federal Union.

England.—The statement made in the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the national finances has, according to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, struck a note of deep gloom.

**The National
Finances**

The Government began the financial year with the prospect of obtaining at the end of it a surplus of £177,000,000, less certain amounts, which would have to be incurred on account of the coal stoppage and the agreements entered upon with the railway companies. But every month almost as it passed gradually removed all hopes of a surplus. Sir Robert Horne now admits that, while he did not anticipate a deficit, which would necessitate fresh borrowing, the surplus, if any at all, would be trifling. If, comments the *Manchester paper*, this only meant that the nation was just living within its means, though unable at the moment to reduce its capital indebtedness, many people would be inclined to say that, after the coal stoppage and the disastrous falling off of trade, the country had not done so badly. But that would not be a sound deduction. For the total revenue of the year was estimated to include £278,000,000 from excess profits duty and the sale of surplus stores. But these will realize a great deal less and next year it will be impossible to reckon on any substantial amount from either source. It is true that in the present year, the country incurred a good deal of special expenditure in liquidation of war commitments, which are not likely to recur, but the total of non-recurring expenditure is not one quarter of the non-recurring income. Next year the income tax will, as far as it is collected on the average of three years' profits, be a good deal less productive, and interest will have to be found on the American debt, which Sir Robert Horne puts as £50,000,000. The

position therefore, says the *Guardian*, is that the Government cannot strictly claim to be meeting this year's expenses out of revenue, because part of this revenue is only realization of capital. The prospects of reaching a better equilibrium the coming year do not seem to be very bright. Much will depend on trade conditions. The Board of Trade returns for October of the present year, to some extent, confirm the belief that a slow recovery is taking place and that it may not be too much to expect that next year may witness a fairly substantial improvement. Even so, however, declares the Manchester journal, any such revenue from such items as customs, excise and stamps will be offset by the diminished yield of the income tax. "No automatic increase could, even under the most favorable conditions of trade, fill the yawning gap between revenue and expenditure which will confront the Chancellor of the Exchequer next year." On the existing basis, this gap can hardly amount to less than £100,000,000, and might amount to a great deal more. Is the gap, asks the *Guardian*, to be met by increased taxation, by borrowing or by a reduction of expenditure? A recent Treasury circular called for estimates from the departments which next year would produce a net saving of £113,000,000. Even that minimum sum could not be achieved. The Geddes Committee appointed to see what it might achieve in the matter has not yet reported. The Committee may not express opinions on policy, through which alone substantial economies can be made, and it is possible, therefore, that it may be unable to achieve any vital improvement. The field of action in this matter of economy is limited to the Supply services, that is, some £600,000,000, about one-third of which is spent on the army, navy and air forces. "Whatever reductions in the civil expenditure may be found possible," declares the *Guardian*, "it seems clear that no economies will be sufficient which do not include the most drastic cutting down of expenditure on armaments."

Ireland.—Last week gave little promise of an immediate settlement of the Irish problem. On Tuesday, November 22, riots began in Belfast and by November 27 twenty-seven people had been killed

The Conference and ninety-two wounded. Perhaps it is a coincidence only that the first bomb was thrown in Belfast the day after the loyalists held a meeting in London, under the blood-thirsty Decies, and placed on record their "deep sense of humiliation and regret" that negotiations were under way between the Government and persons who were "steeped to the lips in an expressed policy of assassination." The nature of the speeches can be judged from these utterances of Decies who commanded the Crown forces in Limerick before the truce:

The Indian revolution worked from the same room in New York as the revolution in Ireland. Thrice we had the Irish revolutionaries by the throat, and thrice we were pulled off

at the moment when we were about to apply the screw tighter. The Government made a truce and called a conference with men, some of whom are actually guilty of the murder of my police. Ulster will have to fight sooner or later, and if I were there I would fight now.

On November 21, too, Andrews, Minister of Labor for Ulster, was filling County Down with denunciation "of the disgraceful betrayal of Ulster." A good idea of the absurdity of the Ulster grievance can be obtained from this portion of Andrews' speech:

If the Government's suggested all-Irish Parliament was given effect, it would mean that our Parliament in Ulster would be subordinate and our efforts in the direction of solving the education problem, labor matters and other domestic questions would undoubtedly be thwarted by the Parliament in Dublin.

More absurd than this, is this interview given to a correspondent of a New York paper by W. Copeland, the sturdy loyalist proprietor of the Enniskillen *Impartial Reporter*.

The Prime Minister is now apparently trying to induce Ulster to do two things which she could not possibly do—to give up Tyrone and Fermanagh, and to submit her present independence to a controlling power in Dublin. The giving up of Tyrone and Fermanagh is sought on the ground that there is a Roman Catholic majority in those two counties, yet these Catholics have not supported Sinn Fein. The whole atmosphere of these counties, professionally and commercially, is Unionist.

As for the argument that Ulster should yield her independence, Ulster has been independent in ancient times and it now differs from the rest of Ireland as markedly as some cantons in Switzerland differ from other cantons. No guarantees of security by Sinn Feiners would give ease to the Ulster mind. Guarantees would not be worth the paper they were written on from men who commit murder with impunity, who employ outrage and terrorism to enforce their decrees. And when clergy in high places condone assassinations by calling them 'executions,' Ulster could not trust a party where such things exist. Sir James Craig, in his interview with the Prime Minister, could not whittle down a single thing where Ulster was concerned and if he were to do so Ulster would not follow him. Ulster realizes that her industries, her peace and prosperity depend upon her own security from the interference of those who make trouble in any country under the sun where they are in a group.

I can see no settlement. Any settlement must bring the abandonment of the Sinn Fein claims, and we know that nothing will induce the Sin Fein leaders to pledge allegiance to the King. Even if an arrangement were come to, no permanent settlement would ensue unless the Irish were to stop their continual agitation and have recourse to the powers of industry and peace instead of destruction and disturbance.

Unhistorical and foolish as this is, it is apparently affecting the Prime Minister favorably. On November 25, he consulted with Craig for an hour and then announced that Ulster would be offered financial inducements to enter into union with the rest of Ireland, but would not be coerced to do so. Craig returned to Belfast where he will give the Orange decision on Lloyd George's new proposal on Tuesday, November 29, too late for record in this issue of *AMERICA*.

Haiti and the Senate Commission

WILLIAM B. McCORMICK

Special Correspondent for "America"

ON the eve of the arrival of the Senate Select Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo the people of Haiti are both outwardly excited and inwardly moved over the coming of Senator Medill McCormick and his colleagues. For the past few days the one and only topic of conversation between visitors from the United States and Americans residing in Haiti and the Haitians themselves has been the advent of the Commission and what it is going to do. We heard yesterday that the Senators were due to arrive on the United States army transport, Argonne, on Sunday, November 20, two days sooner than they were expected. This news hastened the work of the reception committee. For the Commission is to be welcomed with a band and festivities "to show them we are a kindly people," as one of the Haitians explained.

To say that Haiti, from north to south and east to west, is excited and moved by the visit of the Commission is no exaggeration. The two prevalent ideas, both in the States and among Americans living here, that the natives living away from the cities and towns do not know of the Commission's visit and do not take a keen interest in it is a grave mistake. I have had personal knowledge of this fact already in an automobile ride out of Port-au-Prince where I have listened to conversations between my host and natives after being introduced as a "good American." The note of expectation among these natives, it is true, is pessimistic. This is true also of the feelings of both American residents and the educated classes among the Haitians. They all have keen memories of the work of the Mayo and Knapp Commissions and wonder, this being expressed in the familiar American phrase, if Senator McCormick and his colleagues are coming here on another "whitewashing" expedition.

It is one of the curious phases of the situation here that only a short while ago reports began to be circulated that the application of another coat of whitewash was the sole purpose of the Commission's visit. It is even charged that "the Occupation," which is the local term for the American administration in Haiti, circulated these reports. And these reports are responsible for the feeling of pessimism and dull despair made plain in all the talk I hear. There have been six years of "the Occupation" and only one of its legal promises made to the Haitians has been kept. Small wonder is it that pessimism is in the air. But there is also an undercurrent of hope. For these kindly people cannot believe, deep down in their hearts that the great American nation will not help them.

Up to the present, this the American Government has not done. There is no use glossing over this bald fact. Just two things have been done by the United States in Haiti, and only two, to redeem its promises. The *Corvée*

has been abolished and the General Receiver has issued his annual reports of the receivership of customs for the fiscal years 1917 to 1920 inclusive. The four white Government pamphlets that lie before me represent the one concrete evidence the people of Haiti have of the treaty promises of the United States. It is not much to give to a people who are paying the bills of "the Occupation," one particularly objectionable item of which is \$16,000 a year to an American financial adviser who lives permanently in the United States.

The impression is sedulously cultivated in the United States, and has been cultivated since 1914, that the "Haitian situation" is full of complications difficult for the people of the United States to understand. This is pure buncombe. The "Haitian situation" simply resolves itself into force, military force with all its outward signs of uniformed marines carrying rifles or wearing heavy service revolvers at their belts and its invisible bonds of martial law, exerted on a simple, honest, kindly people. Already I have such a sense of security among the people that one night I walked three miles, from the outskirts of Port-au-Prince to my hotel, after half-past nine at night. No sensible man would think of walking an equal distance through Central Park at home at that hour. And one of the worst features of the force we are imposing on the Haitians is the contempt for the natives expressed by many of the officers of "the Occupation." This appears to be an inevitable corollary of all such overseas occupations of a small nation by a large one. And of all the evidences of force exhibited here, none pains the Haitians so deeply as this one of contempt for them by "the Occupation."

Another impression spread broadcast throughout the United States concerns material improvements that we have made in Haiti. On the boat, coming down to Port-au-Prince from New York, Americans familiar with the voyage described to me the dirt of the town and in the next breath told me of the fine wide streets and the "covered market" and told me the Americans had done all this. It is a fact that the contract for the asphalt streets was made by the Government of the Republic of Haiti before "the Occupation." And anyone with a primitive idea of architecture would know that the "covered market," which occupies two city blocks and is connected with an ornamental iron arch of the Centennial Exposition type of such horrors, was built years ago. As to its cleanliness and freedom from odor, anyone who knows the New York city markets under the Williamsburg and Queensboro bridges, could not fail to be impressed by the Port-au-Prince covered market in these two respects. And these two features of the municipal administration are duplicated in all the other public services. "The Occupation" took

over what was already established and maintained it. Nothing more than this. Before I came to Port-au-Prince I was warned against drinking the water. A Marine Corps surgeon tells me he never knew better water. The water-works were constructed by the Republic of Haiti long before "the Occupation."

This misrepresentation is what grinds the Haitians. And on top of it they have to pay the bills for the salaries of the officials who superintend the work of sanitation, posts and telegraphs, road maintenance, police, gendarmerie, and the customs. Moreover, and this is a particularly sore point, not a few of the employees of "the Occupation" are Porto Ricans and Americans of alien parentage. Haitians feel, and one can sympathize with this desire, that the money they contribute to the Government should come back to their own people to the extent of salaries and wages, at least. This is only one of the many points of difference between the Haitians and "the Occupation" which could be easily settled if "the Occupation" was more concerned with establishing justice and a more cordial relation between itself and the Haitians. That the Haitians are efficient public servants, and courteous withal to a degree unknown in the United States, I have already ample proof. When I went to the Post Office to leave a change of address, the chief clerk came to the window and told me he "was glad as a Haitian Catholic to welcome an American Catholic." And his gracious dignity was not the least part of the charm of the incident.

Next to the arrival of the Senate Committee in the flesh the two questions most discussed here are the place where the sittings are to be held and the number of witnesses who will appear to testify before the Senate Committee. There is a strong sentiment for the holding of the hearings in the National Assembly, the building from which the Haitian Senators were driven in April, 1915, as the result of an executive order, actually a *coup d'état* arranged between the President of Haiti and "the Occupation." It is felt that if the hearings of the United States Senate Committee were held there the proceedings would assume the appearance, be a symbol, of reproof to what was done when the Haitian legislature was practically expelled from its own chamber. Nothing has been settled on this point, however. But there is no escaping the deep feeling of the Haitians as to the symbolism of the American Committee sitting in the deserted halls of Haiti's National Building, which is the nearest approach the Republic has to a

national capitol. The Haitians are too essentially Gallic not to hold such an emotion.

The Patriotic Union of Haiti, which now has about 25,000 members, is the active force in the assembling of witnesses. Mr. Stenio Vincent, who is one of the Haitian delegates who visited the United States in August and presented a memoir as to conditions in Haiti under "the Occupation" to the Senate Committee, tells me there will be "many witnesses." But the difficulty of making this promise good lies in the martial law established here. Willing enough witnesses are fearful of what may happen to them, if they testify, after the Senate Committee has left Port-au-Prince. From the civilian viewpoint, among ourselves at home, martial law is always bad law. We protect ourselves from it to the utmost of our power. We resent it when applied. So it is only natural that fear of martial law should exist among the Haitians. I have already heard that witnesses who declared they would testify before the Senate Committee have disappeared. I have also been told of a Marine Corps officer who is practically being deported on the Panama liner sailing from here on November 20 because he declared he would testify in favor of the Haitians. That such stories are common to every occupation, such as we are engaged in in Haiti, does not lessen the importance of these tales. If the American Government was not imposing its will on the Haitians by martial law backed up by force there would be no occasion for these tales being written or printed in America.

The hope in the Haitian breast that the coming of the Senate Committee may bring material prosperity to the people and the Republic is acute. They feel that for six years they have had such promises held out to them without visible results. As a matter of comparison the visit of the Senate Committee to Haiti is not unlike the atmosphere there was in Allied Europe when President Wilson went to Paris. It would be tragic if the same results came to pass here, tragic, of course, for the Haitians only, in the narrow sense. But the greater tragedy would lie in the fact that we had failed once more, as a nation, in our attempts at imperialism.

Whether a nation of 3,000,000 souls shall go forward or retrograde depends on the course of Senator McCormick and his colleagues here. It is to be hoped that he will bring about the first result. For the people of Haiti deserve it at our hands.

The Island of Haiti

PETER CONDON

OF all the islands in the West Indies there is none whose history is more tragic than that of Haiti, none whose affairs have undergone more radical changes, not alone social and political but even racial, extending to the substitution of an entirely different race

in place of the native Indians who received and welcomed Columbus.

If we go back to its earliest days we find a population of inoffensive Caribs who, in consequence of the severe and exhausting tasks imposed on them by their Spanish

masters became utterly extinct within about half a century following the advent of the colonists. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, this native population had been replaced by a population of negroes and mulattoes with a small percentage of whites, so that the name of Haiti has become synonymous with the Black Republic, a title under which it has been commonly known almost since its foundation.

It may serve to clear up some confusion of thought if we mention that at the time of Columbus, Haiti was the name by which the entire Island was known to the natives. The Spaniards called it *Española* or sometimes *Hispaniola* and, later, *Santo Domingo*, following the establishment of the city of that name, the oldest city of the western hemisphere. The territory on the west, however, which had been occupied by French buccaneers and later became a French colony, never lost the name of Haiti while the territory at the east always retained the name of *Santo Domingo*. At present, we have on the same Island the Republic of *San Domingo* side by side with the Republic of *Haiti*, each with its separate and independent Government, the population of each wholly distinct from that of the other and with differences in traits, in manners and habits as marked as those which may be observed between the inhabitants of the two mother countries.

The Republic of Haiti was proclaimed in 1801 by the mulattoes and blacks who were then almost the only survivors, resident in the colony, of the savage warfare which had been carried on with scarcely any intermission during the preceding decade.

Those were sanguinary days in France and not less so in the colony though the revolutionary spirit originated there in conditions wholly different from those which had produced the revolt in the mother country. Prior to this period Haiti was the richest of all the French colonial possessions. Its exports of coffee, sugar, indigo, dyewood and other products of the soil yielded great money-returns which not only enriched the planters but profited the Government, the shipowners and the manufacturers in France. All this wealth was produced by the labor of negro slaves and the historians of that period tell us that in 1789 there were in the colony not less than 450,000 such slaves. As against this enormous slave population there were white troops sent over from France numbering not to exceed 3,000, besides a militia of mixed colored and white natives and about 25,000 white residents of whom one-half were women and children. Besides these there were mulattoes about 40,000 in number.

Most of the slaves had been stolen from their homes on the African coast and had been brought over by the slave-traders under conditions so barbarous as almost to defy description. After they had been sent to the different plantations they were forced to perform such arduous and unusual labor and otherwise subjected to such hard treatment that many of them died. Hence it is

not surprising that when opportunity presented the survivors rose in rebellion against their masters.

The mulattoes whom we have mentioned were, many of them, of equal intelligence with the whites and were extensive owners of both plantations and slaves. Some had lived in France and had been educated there or had sent their children to Paris for their education, but under the system of government in the colony all mulattoes were disfranchised as, socially, they were ostracized by the whites.

It was out of the material supplied by these two classes, blacks and mulattoes, that the future Republic of Haiti was to be constructed. But the ten years preceding that event were to be years of bloodshed, suffering and death accompanied by destruction of property on so large a scale that the whole country was literally laid waste, and the white population was either exterminated or driven from the colony. The wars which were carried on by one or other group had intensified the bitterness of feeling on the part of both the blacks and the mulattoes against the whites, so that when the independence of Haiti was established in 1804 by Dessalines, the negro leader next in command following the departure of Toussaint L'Ouverture for France, one of the first proposals acted upon was the exclusion of all white men from the privilege of citizenship or of owning property within the Republic.

The question of a State religion was likewise debated with the result that a provision was adopted declaring the Catholic religion to be the religion of the State but tolerating the practise of other religions, at first only privately, but later in public.

It soon became evident, however, that the Haitians had absorbed the Napoleonic idea of a State church and that the institution which they were proposing to maintain was to be merely a department of the State whose powers should be exercised by a clergy to be licensed by the State and within such limits and subject to such conditions as the State might prescribe. So dark was the outlook for religion that in 1804 Father LeCun, then Prefect Apostolic and the only remaining representative of legitimate ecclesiastical authority, left Haiti and retired to Jamaica. From that time until the Concordat of 1860 the only religious services occurring in Haiti were performed by schismatic priests or by those who had been expelled from their convents or suspended by their Bishops.

But the Holy See was not unmindful of the fact that so large a number of souls were in need of spiritual attention and repeated efforts were made to come to an understanding with the head of the Republic by which the Hierarchy should be established and the people supplied with legitimate pastors.

The circumstances of these several missions are interesting but we limit ourselves to mentioning that one in which an American Bishop, the Right Reverend John England, Bishop of Charleston, S. C., took an active part.

This distinguished prelate arrived at Port-au-Prince in 1834 and presented his credentials as legate of the Holy See to Boyer, then President of the Republic, together with the letter of Pope Gregory XVI expressing his solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the people of Haiti and offering to appoint such Bishops or to do otherwise as might be useful in restoring religion. But Boyer refused to admit any Bishop within the Republic until after a Concordat had been arranged between the Holy See and Haiti. Additional terms were debated and reduced to writing by Boyer's committee and delivered to Bishop England, by whom they were forwarded to Rome, where they were rejected.

Again in 1836 Bishop Clancy, who had been appointed Coadjutor to Bishop England in the See of Charleston, arrived in Haiti authorized to act as Vicar Apostolic, but Boyer declined to recognize him or admit him in any capacity.

Later in that same year Bishop England again visited Haiti bringing a letter from the Holy Father authorizing him to exercise episcopal authority within the Republic but Boyer and the members of his Council gave him such scant consideration that he remained less than a month and then returned to his diocese. Another mission followed, undertaken by Bishop Rosati, the newly appointed Bishop of St. Louis, but, in spite of extended negotiations and many promises by the Haitian authorities nothing came of it, and it was not until 1860 that a Concordat was agreed upon and signed by Geffrard, then President, and by Cardinal Antonelli, representing Pius IX.

Under this arrangement Bishops were appointed who in turn went about seeking laborers who would undertake

the work waiting to be done in the Master's vineyard. The religious spirit in France responded nobly and generously, and individual priests and members of religious communities of both men and women were found ready to devote themselves to the work of the mission. All were volunteers, necessarily so. All were natives of France, chiefly of Brittany, and too much praise cannot be given to these generous men and women who left home and friends and country to work in a distant land and under the most trying conditions, for the welfare of the colored man. Over 300 have died victims to the climate or to changed living conditions or to the hard work on which they were engaged.

In 1917, the last year for which statistics are available, there were over 200 priests, including both secular and regular, residing in Haiti preaching and teaching to the limit of their strength and in addition there were more than 400 men and women, members of various religious communities, most of them engaged in the work of instruction in the schools which they had established and others attending the hospitals, or performing other works of mercy.

If space permitted we might tell what great results have been achieved through the labors of these missionaries, what obstacles were encountered and how these were overcome, what endeavors were made by the enemies of the Church to induce the Negro to become a good Methodist or Baptist.

Equally interesting would be the story of the political progress of the Republic and particularly of the intervention of this country in its affairs and the apparently disastrous results. But these must stand over to another time.

The Disarmament Conference

GUILLEIMO A. SHERWELL
Special Correspondent of "America"

THE first week of the deliberations of the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments passed amid rapidly alternating hope and disillusionment. The frankness of the United States and the open demands of China were neatly balanced by the deliberate caution of Japan and the bland and smiling craftiness of England.

Once having accepted in principle the proposals of Secretary Hughes, the other two great naval powers of the world could not assume an attitude of discussion. If they did, any concessions they might secure would mean only possible advantages for future war. The cynicism of their attitude is evidenced by the simple thought that if those countries have in mind future conflicts, the advantages which they are now trying to obtain are so trivial as not to constitute a real superiority. If they have in mind no possibility of any international conflict, then there is no justification for embroidering the Hughes proposals. No

inspired man has appeared among the delegates, and only one delegation has assumed a real position of leadership that of the United States.

England wants the reduction of submarines, a weapon essentially defensive, which proves that she has other factors on which she depends for her defense. Her statesmanlike chief delegate has implied that the arterial communications of the British Empire are so extended as to make impossible its protection by submarines. England must have the advantage on the high seas. As an attacking power, she always needs great naval units. She dreads the small and dangerous submarines.

Japan also puts forward the reason of defense. That is as it always has been. No country ever dreams of mentioning any purpose of attack. No country has ever acknowledged its intention to wage an aggressive war. But through all allegations the sophisticated reader sees the

concealed determination to be ready with a superior force to attack the weak points of future enemies.

It is always pertinent to ask who, in the possibility of future conflicts, are likely to be the enemies. In speaking of prospective wars between naval powers, these questions at once force themselves on the mind of every thinking person: What are those possibilities and which are the countries that are likely to be involved in a naval war?

Let us consider three countries: the United States, England, and Japan. Any advantage that any one of these countries seeks to obtain must mean a disadvantage to another of these three countries, and since everybody is so emphatic in asserting that there is no possibility of war between these three countries or between any two of them, it is hard to perceive what reason any of them can have for insisting on retaining a strong naval force.

Of course, there will always be a possibility of friction so long as two colonial empires meet in lands still subject to colonization. But the United States and Great Britain have proved that they will never have any conflict of this kind; the border lines between the United States and Canada are never given any special protection, at least on the southern side. England and Japan may meet in their respective zones of influence in China; but those two countries are bound by a treaty of alliance, and that treaty of alliance, in spite of the clause calculated to render it harmless toward the United States, still reduces the possibilities of conflict to a two-sided affair: England and Japan on one side, and the United States on the other. That this should occur is unbelievable. This has been repeated again and again, and insisted upon, and nobody wants to have occasion to change the stated conviction that this dreadful thing, of a war between the United States on one side and England and Japan on the other, will never happen. Then again, what is the use of bickering over one sheep more or less? Nobody can think of Japan's danger of attack on the part of China, or Russia, or of an attack on the high seas by England or any other country.

The more this problem is studied, the more convinced is the public that the naval forces should be reduced to the same relative size as the land forces; that is, to the necessary size for police duty. The problems of international cooperation and peace will never be solved until the soldier and the policeman merge into one. In other words, land forces ought to be only large enough to protect the peoples from evil-doers on land and the naval forces ought to be reduced to the strength necessary to protect the seas against piracy. Any other solution must be predicated on national ambitions and purposes of trespassing on the rights of other countries. Whenever a country demands another ship, the public cannot help thinking "there is a future aggressor!" And when there appears a future aggressor, invariably there comes the question: "Against whom?" If the aggression cannot be against the United States, or England or Japan, then it must be on the part of one of these three Powers against smaller and weaker

nationalities. Even if this immorality in international relations could be accepted by any fair-minded man, the question would still remain: What is the need of great naval forces for aggressions against small and weak nationalities, unless there exist the possibility of there being, as the saying goes, two dogs with a single bone?

That great nations are still decided to continue the role of dogs is unfortunately shown by the long deliberations, the constant studies, the battalions of experts, and all the great machinery which has taken the place of the generous, just, sound and outright acceptance of the principle of proportional disarmament with all its consequences.

All big affairs have their echo in the public mind and help to strengthen or to weaken individual morals. The gracious gesture is wanting, and the world feels discouraged. Everybody appreciates how hard it is to find graciousness in the big fellow. Everybody knows that there are men who can refuse a favor and be liked; and that there are many persons who can give, and be disliked after giving. It is not the deed alone that counts, but the way of doing it. If the world had seen an outright, immediate acceptance of the proposal of Secretary Hughes, a great wave of noble generosity would have swept the world at once and things would have been accomplished in obedience to a great impulse of uncontrollable enthusiasm. Now, as things are, much may be done, but the world will remain cold and diffident, will shrug its shoulders, and will continue to believe that this world of politicians, working always for the ephemeral fortunes of cabinets and for the short-sighted triumphs translated in votes of confidence, will continue for a long while to be the same cold, small, petty world, dead to the great problems, devoid of bright horizons, blind to great visions of human destiny.

The small countries want something too. Among them, China—small in effect because she is weak—wants only to be let alone to develop herself, friendly to the world and befriended by the world. It must be acknowledged that in the support of China's demands, the United States has assumed an attitude above all criticism. No solution of the Far Eastern problem can be sound and lasting if it be not based strictly on the policies of the open door and full respect for China's rights. What this means for Japan, England, and other countries possessing interests in the Far East, is what shall be determined in the future deliberations of the Conference. It is to be hoped that whatever the final agreement may be in other respects, with regard to a profound consideration of the rights of other peoples, this Conference will be a success.

On this point, too, there has been a general acceptance "in principle" of China's demands and an agreement to afford her an opportunity for full and free development, which must mean the suppression of all zones of influence and of economic limitations and the granting to the Eastern Republic of a full international personality. How far previous conditions will have to be accounted for; how far new debates will bring to light the predominance of selfish

national interests are things one cannot foresee. But the readiness with which England and Japan seem to have granted the Chinese plea, always "in principle," to be sure, is praiseworthy if it is altogether sincere and if this matter, as has been stated, can be considered as disposed of, its details to be worked out in the near future. At times one may wonder what the settlement of details may mean; but it is to be hoped that those details will be only matters regarding the best and quickest way of getting out of China and leaving her alone. Indemnities, reparations, reimbursements for expenses already made, considerations based on work already performed, many of these questions must be considered, but it is believed that they will be considered in a spirit of friendliness towards China, and with the realization that, after all, whatever expenditures other countries have suffered, or whatever sacrifices they have made, China never asked them to perform the actions which originated those expenditures and sacrifices. If anybody ought to be indemnified, perhaps it is China. But we may feel confident that China will let bygones be bygones, provided that she sees her soil freed of invaders and her independence loosed from bonds of any kind.

Immediately after the acceptance of the principle of China's autonomy, discussions about the economic reorganization of China began. On this point, too, the American delegation took the initiative, through the proposal of Senator Underwood to undertake serious study of the problem. China, economically, is an international Haiti (as distinguished from our Caribbean Haiti—a purely "domestic" problem), receiving from her revenues whatever is left after foreign administrators have attended to debt service in which powerful foreigners are deeply interested. There is no definite proposition regarding the way in which the situation should be improved. It is not likely that the administration of revenues will be placed absolutely in the hands of China for some time. But the world is certainly anxious to see that all necessary steps are taken to reach that condition of affairs as soon as possible.

The most dramatic development of the Conference thus far has been Premier Briand's address on Monday, November 21, containing a plea for the retention of the French land forces. Whatever fire there is in Latin eloquence, whatever passion there is in the most ardent patriotism, burst from the lips of the man invested with the representation of our beloved friend, France. The audience was altogether sympathetic. France now holds all the trump cards. She has opened a wide way to our hearts, and we feel drawn to France by stronger bonds of love than those existing in the time of Lafayette. Foch has come to us, unassuming, true, hero-like, modest, submitting himself resignedly—even cheerfully—to the torment of banquets, entertainments, reception of doctor's degrees, infliction of all kinds of affectionate tortures, listening to odes and posing for cameras, and showing always that he is the kind of "sport" we all like. We could not see Foch one day and refuse to listen to Briand the following day. Briand's task was easy, but the effort he put in its per-

formance would have been sufficient to master great difficulties. He spoke musically, expressively, now softly, with all the vocalic softness of Latin tongues, now strongly, with those rolling thunderous words which the Roman languages can pile up, and which sound like tempests, ready to destroy whatever obstructs their path, and ready also to cease suddenly, and in the midst of clouds to permit a ray of sun to pass like a loving smile. He spoke for nearly an hour, while the galleries, spellbound, listened, no longer to the representative of France, but to a great word artist, who was playing with words and with the passions of men at the same time.

And Briand triumphed. Of course, France will have her army, and will be the sole judge to determine its size, and, if it is to be reduced, the extent of the reduction. France now stands before the world as she did in 1914—as the great wall, protecting Western civilization from the inroads of the Northern races. France is also a protecting wall against the advances of radical Russian theories, now that our civilization is so much afraid of radical disturbances. They might, it is true, produce new standards and open new horizons, but it is possible too that they might destroy the work of centuries and cast humanity into the abyss of savagery. Every appeal to the Western World to strengthen its protection against radicalism in any form will find a ready and sympathetic answer.

Would not many of us wish to hear more conciliatory words? If it could be proved that Germany is so well-armed and ready to attack, may no way be found to convince her that it is to her interest not to appear as a menace to Europe? Can Europe not deal with Russia so as to make her an active factor in the new developments through which the world is passing? Perhaps we might try to show sympathy and love for those peoples we are continuously calling enemies and, consequently, making them believe they are enemies, and feel like real enemies. Perhaps . . . but we may suppose many things and put forward many hypotheses. The Western World has preferred to consider itself in front of a big, powerful enemy, and if there are enemies, really, and our civilization is in danger, then, let us have a very strong wall, and let France be ready again to save the world.

In summary, the situation at the middle of the second week of formal deliberations is reduced to four main points: (1) the submarine question, which bothers England; (2) the proportion of big ships, which troubles Japan; (3) the reduction of land armament, which preoccupies France; and (4) the complete independence of China, which worries everybody.

November 25.

Washington.

Father Zahm, Priest and Scientist

KERNDT M. HEALY, C.S.C.

ON November 11, a cable message brought news of the death at Munich, Germany, of the Rev. John A. Zahm, C.S.C. A message a few days earlier had an-

nounced that he was ill of pneumonia. He died peacefully, the report stated, with all the rites of the Church. It was the passing of a good priest, a great scholar and one of the most interesting figures in the history of Catholic thought in our time.

Dr. Zahm, and he was doctor by many titles, of laws, of letters, of science, of philosophy, of divinity, was born at New Lexington, Perry County, Ohio, June 14, 1851. His father was Jacob Zahm and his mother Mary Braddock. During his childhood the family moved to Huntington, Indiana. The boy was sent to the University of Notre Dame where he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1871. Immediately afterwards he joined the Congregation of Holy Cross, being ordained to the priesthood on June 4, 1875. Father Zahm was placed in charge of the scientific department of the University of Notre Dame as early as 1874; the next year he became director of the School of Science and for many years was curator of the University Museum. For some years he was professor of physics at the University and it was he who established the physical laboratory which is recognized as one of the best equipped in the country. He held the office of vice-president under the presidency of the Rev. Thomas E. Walsh and later was appointed Director of Studies for the whole Congregation. Some years later Dr. Zahm was chosen Procurator-General of the Congregation, with headquarters in Rome, and from 1898 to 1906 he held the office of Provincial of the Congregation in the United States. For the past ten years he lived in retirement at Holy Cross College, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Zahm was internationally known as a churchman and as a scholar. His interests and accomplishments were unusually varied. He was a pioneer in showing what the Church has done for science. Two popular essays (The Ave Maria Press) "The Catholic Church and Modern Science," and "What the Church has done for Science," of which there have been numerous editions, contain "a mass of information more than sufficient to refute any opponent who ventures to assert that the influence of the Church is hostile to the progress of enlightenment." Some twenty years ago he published "Evolution and Dogma," the Italian edition of which was withdrawn by the author on intimations received in Rome that his position was regarded as unduly "advanced." Years later it was a satisfaction to the venerable author to learn that in the discussion "*De Creatione*" at the Gregorian in Rome, Dr. Zahm was referred to by Father Huarte, S.J., as *optimus vir* who at the first sign that this work was disquieting to certain souls, promptly withdrew it from print. Other books scientific in their scope are: "Bible, Science and Faith"; "Evolution and Teleology"; "Catholic Science and Catholic Scientists"; "Scientific Theory and Catholic Doctrine"; "Science and the Church"; "Women in Science," with an introductory chapter on woman's long struggle for things of the mind. "Sound and Music," published twenty-odd years ago is a standard reference work in physics.

Dr. Zahm's interests and activities, however, lay not alone in the field of science. He was among the leading Dante scholars of the country and made a large and choice collection of books, engravings, etc., relating to the great Florentine, which is a treasured acquisition of the University of Notre Dame. "Great Inspirers," considered by many as one of Dr. Zahm's best books, deals in part with the story of Dante and Beatrice, and in it may be found the result of his wide reading and his exquisite appreciation of the immortal poet. Because of tireless efforts in Dantean research, he was elected a member of the Dante Society of Florence.

He visited all parts of the United States, and made a journey to Alaska accompanied by Charles Warren Stoddard; he knew Mexico extremely well. He also traveled extensively in Europe and in the Orient. His experiences and explorations in South America are embodied in four splendidly written volumes which, for a sympathetic understanding of the people he met and the institutions he visited, stand out as classics in the literature of Hispanic America. These books: "Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena"; "Along the Andes and Down the Amazon"; "The Quest of El Dorado"; "Through South America's Southlands," are among Dr. Zahm's most important contributions to history and literature. The two former works were written under the pen name of H. J. Mozans.

"Along the Andes and Down the Amazon" is dedicated to Mr. Charles M. Schwab, a close friend of the author. It contains an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt whose appreciation for Dr. Zahm is well worth recalling:

The author has every qualification for making such a journey as he made and then for writing about it. He is an extraordinarily hardy man, this gentle, quiet traveler. He has that sweetness of nature which inspires in others the same good feeling he himself evinces toward them; he loves rivers and forests, mountains and plains and broad highways and dim wood trails, and he has a wide and intimate acquaintance with science, with history and above all with literature. He acted as an ambassador and his sympathy and appreciation of the people whom he met earned for him thoughtful and unwearied kindness in return and admirably fitted him, while on his journey, to interpret our nation to those among whom he traveled and now admirably fit him to interpret them in return to us. His trip is told so entertainingly that I do not recall any similar book dealing with South America so well worth reading. In closing, I can only repeat that this is a delightful book from every standpoint. It is an especially delightful book for Americans because throughout it Doctor Mozans (Father Zahm) shows that he is so thoroughly good an American, so imbued with what is best in our national spirit and with the thoughts and aspirations of our greatest statesmen and writers, and indeed of all who have expressed the soul of our people.

Pope Leo XIII honored Dr. Zahm with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1895. He was a member of the *Société Française de Physique*, of the *Société Scientifique*, Brussels, and of the Roman Arcadia. In 1897 he was spokesman at the Catholic Science Congress at Freiburg and president of his own section. His extensive travels, his varied activities and his numerous writings, brought

him into contact with many of the most distinguished men of our time: Cardinal Gasquet, Cardinal Gibbons, Father David Fleming, the illustrious Franciscan, the Abbe Moigno, Archbishop Spalding, Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Montes de Oca y Obregon, President Roosevelt, President Taft, Porfirio Diaz, Remenyi, the celebrated Hungarian violinist, and numerous others, among them Januarius Aloysius MacGahan, a townsman and friend, the famous correspondent of the London *Daily News*, who published the facts which enabled Gladstone to arouse the sympathy of the world in behalf of the persecuted Christians of Bulgaria by whom the memory of MacGahan is still fondly cherished.

The greatest service rendered by Dr. Zahm was naturally to his own Congregation. A man of large vision, a quarter of a century ahead of his time, it was said, nevertheless he lived to see many of his hopes and plans fully realized. A man of energy and initiative, he combined prudence with zeal, and some of the most flourishing of the institutions of his Community were founded while he held the office of Provincial.

It was at the house of studies in Washington that he lived in retirement for the past ten years of his life, and though freed from the responsibilities of superiorship, he never ceased to interest himself in the young men with whom he came in contact. Although the major portion of his career was unusually active, concerned with men and things, there was no neglect on his part of the inner life. Those who knew him best, and those who were his subjects or associates, always found him a source of inspiration, spiritual as well as intellectual. And when old age had mellowed his soul, his life became the more beautifully edifying. In the last letter he wrote before setting out for Palestine a month ago, he promised a fellow-religious, "I shall pray for you at the holy places," little dreaming perhaps to what Holy Places he was soon to come. His face was as of one going to Jerusalem.

Dr. Zahm is survived by a brother, Dr. Albert F. Zahm, a scientist of national reputation, and two sisters, members of the Sisters of the Holy Cross. There will be many others, however, at home and abroad, to mourn his loss and pray for his soul.

Crime and Punishment

H. V. KANE

A FEW days ago a judge of the Circuit Court of one of our large western cities, sentenced a young thief to five years in the penitentiary for the theft of a valuable car. The case had come before him on an affidavit of prejudice filed against the judge of the Municipal Court. A strong plea was made on behalf of the prisoner by his own counsel, and there was a recommendation for leniency by the District Attorney. The Judge, however, having the proper ends of justice in mind, imposed upon the young defendant adequate punishment. The sentence caused considerable comment on the ground of its alleged severity, a circumstance which of course directly concerned the prisoner, but which reflected the truth that sentiment and sympathy quickly rally to the aid of criminals, either before or after conviction, unjustly exalting them and unfairly minimizing the importance of the crimes they commit. It is becoming trite to say that lawlessness is rampant. The logical query that follows this fact, is: Are we properly balancing the scales of justice, by imposing properly measured penalties upon criminals whom we actually catch, convict and get into jail? If we calmly weigh the facts, and understand the lessons of experience, this question must be answered in the negative. No better proof can be given of this than the growth of the number of criminals, and criminal repeaters, and the added ferocity which their offenses daily assume. It is estimated by Judge Marcus A. Cavanaugh of Chicago, who has made a lifelong study of the subject, that in the year 1910, the time of the last census, there were daily, about 140,000 male and female criminals in

jail in the United States. Of these 14,000 were murderers, 5,000 robbers, 18,000 burglars, 3,000 thieves, and 9,000 derelicts of other kinds, who had committed offenses against women and children. The remainder, a large number of people, had in some manner or other violated the public law, to the injury of the State, and of their fellow-citizens. Since that time, the Judge states, nearly all have served their terms, and about one-third of them have done additional time over and over again. Their numbers have been augmented materially, and at a rate that exceeds the increase in population. Today there are over 150,000 persons in jails throughout the country. The annual cost of keeping and feeding this army is \$54,750,000. Three times this sum was necessarily expended to catch them and get them into prison. Of equal amount is the value of the property they have wickedly and wantonly destroyed. By their excessive cruelty they have oppressed innocent and law-abiding men and women without number, and inflicted upon them ruin and suffering, which in intensity and extent are beyond human computation. If we could stop here, these bad figures would not be so bad, but it is a fact that this large army of the law's enemies within the jails, is supplemented by another as numerous without. This latter division is preying upon society night and day. It is becoming bolder and bolder. Its favorite and up-to-date attack is directly upon the property and treasure of the United States. It is a band of predatory marauders, it bombs, burns and destroys everything and everybody that comes between it and the theft of portable wealth. Its denominating characteristics are devilish

ferocity and consummate cruelty. The nature and extent of its nefarious operations are shown by the fact that it has compelled Uncle Sam to arm heavily certain of his postal employes in large cities, and to protect the traveling post office on our important mail trains with the persons and arms of the United States Marines. Who can say, in view of these facts, that we are either reforming criminals or deterring them from crime? Statutes both State and Federal, in some cases define the exact punishment for violation of law, whereas others leave the court a large discretion in determining the penalty. In the one class of cases the judge simply applies the law as written. In the other, he uses his own standard of punishment. Either way the statistics above quoted should show all judges, jurors, jailers, and probation officers, that penalties to be imposed upon criminals, to be effective as they ought to be, must first contemplate the protection of society against outlaws, the maintenance and reestablishment of the order of justice, and the dignity of the law which the conduct of the criminal tends to eradicate. These ends of justice subserved, then may the reformation of the criminal and his personal comfort be taken into consideration. These are of high importance from the ethical and social standpoint. We have erred, however, in placing the reformation of the criminal and his moral status, as an end of justice, ahead of those objects that make for the protection of the law-abiding and the vindication of the law.

The end of all penalties and legal sanctions [says an author of international repute] is to reestablish the order of justice assailed by crime or felony. To the law its full sway must be restored, that it may again stand forth in its might and majesty and remain victorious if crime challenge it or revolt against it.

What sense is there in permitting the law to come out of a conflict with a criminal, weakened or impaired, or a criminal to come out of the penitentiary, unrepentant and undeterred to commit crimes over again? The only result that can follow is the advancement of crime, the impairment of morality, and the weakening of our judicial system. These true concepts of the ends of punishment, do not conflict with our system of probation which is quite universally in force. If followed they will make probation more effective, by doing away with the percentage of probationers who become repeaters, and will protect it by keeping from its merciful advantages, the predatory and unrepentant outlaw who does not purpose to make amends for his crime. They will prevent the scandal of coddling and martyrizing criminals, to the disgust of the law-abiding citizen, whose lot in life on the average is hard, but who obeys the law. The present-day criminal has all kinds of defenders and apologists, without giving him the forces of sentimentalism to soften the punishment imposed upon him, or the manner of carrying it out, after he is jailed. Before correction is secured, the State has to run the gauntlet of repudiated confessions, perjury, subornation of perjury, insanity pleas and be-

wildering defenses. If after all this the defendant is convicted, what folly it is to permit him to get off lightly.

Capital punishment is in force in a good number of States of the Union, but it is a notorious fact that the number of executions is far below the number of offenses for which the death penalty could be inflicted. This is due to a vast amount of ill-digested and scrambled thought and writing that has been given the subject of capital punishment for two generations. No logical person would claim that if murder is to cease the State must first abolish capital punishment. The natural order of things requires that if legal killing by execution is to be suppressed, the illegal taking of life by the murderer must first be discontinued. The great army of criminals in this country can only be dealt with safely by applying to them penalties that will comport with the true ends of vindictive justice. If we fail to do this, the hardened enemies of the law will get the better of us, life will become uncertain, property unstable, and happiness impossible. The whole fabric of our law will become threadbare, and we shall stand convicted of lack of vision in our failure to deal with criminals with the same determination and severity with which they carry on their lawless pursuits.

COMMUNICATIONS

Letters as a rule should not exceed six hundred words

A Library at Mentone

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Owing to the large number of American and English visitors to the Riviera, a Catholic library and a reading room are about to be opened at Mentone for their benefit. If the undertaking is a success it is hoped that eventually similar libraries may be started all along the Riviera. A library of this kind was opened at Mentone towards the end of last season in temporary quarters, but it is felt that one of permanent character, in a prominent position, should be provided and furnished this winter.

The library will have exclusively Catholic books, and novels by Catholic authors, and will be affiliated to the well-known Bexhill Library, which, as your readers are doubtless aware, owes its existence to the generosity and energy of an American, Mr. Reed Lewis, who is very much interested in the scheme for Mentone. The reading room will contain, in addition to the Catholic papers and magazines, the leading secular American and English papers, and doubtless many non-Catholics, who come in to read these, may be attracted to read, and be interested in the Catholic literature.

If any of your readers are so kind as to help me to raise the money required to equip the library and reading room, I shall be very pleased to receive, and acknowledge, the smallest donations, which can be sent to me at the address given. The smallest sum with which we can possibly hope to begin is 500 dollars.

Villa Ste. Anne, Mentone, France.

M. E. M. JOHNSON.

* Constitutional Amendments

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In this hurly-burly age of restlessness, of pseudo-scientists, of governmental faddists, of movie-mad women, and sensual men, with all the paganistic philosophy which this state of things implies, sane Americans might find it profitable, now and then, to

hark back to the sayings and doings of men like Judge William Gaston of North Carolina, who was a scholar, orator, and chief justice of no mean ability, when this nation was in process of formation. One hundred and seventeen years ago Judge Gaston sat in the House of Representatives of these United States, and impressed his Catholic and American principles upon a noted assemblage of statesmen.

On January 3, 1814, it was resolved in the House that "The House resolve itself into a committee of the whole on the proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to establish a uniform method of electing electors for President." In the midst of the debate occasioned by the proposition, Judge Gaston arose and said, among other things:

Sir, there breathes not a man who views the sacred character of Federal Union with more reverence than myself. No one can more seriously or more ardently deprecate any innovation on its principles. If the proposition under discussion embraced such an innovation, however advisable it may seem, however clear of all objections I could anticipate, I should tremble at the attempt to introduce it. But, when we examine the Constitution, and compare with it the proposed amendment, we shall find that the object is *not to introduce new, but to invigorate old principles, to give a practical operation to the instrument, which consists with its designed effect—to rescue it from perversion and abuse* [italics inserted]. . . . Under the hope and belief that this amendment will impart vigor to the Constitution, re-establish it upon its true basis, and perpetuate its duration, I avow myself its warm and decided friend. The earthly wish, nearest to my heart, is that, amidst the storms which threaten the submersion of all that is precious in civilization or refinement, we may cling to that Constitution as the mariner to the floating spar which Providence throws in the way of his preservation. (History of Congress 2d session, 13th Congress, 1814, pp. 836-844.)

Here, outlined are principles of patriotism, which should inspire every legislator today, in the national body and in State assemblies when they are tempted to amend statutes in National or State Constitutions, serving the interests of demagogues, temperance-bigots, and educational faddists. Some of these legislators, and their preferred constituents, might well study the speeches and the writings of such sterling Catholic American statesman as the great Judge William Gaston of North Carolina.

Lowell, Mass.

GEORGE F. O'DWYER.

The Unscientific Observer

To the Editor of AMERICA:

There are very many who love God and His works unscientifically but none the less truly; who may even only know God "unscientifically" but whom nature brings nearer to God than it does some scientists. To these the flower and the bird are God's gifts, not the effect of blind forces and instinct. They see them without the slightest wish to kill, dissect or even classify, they enjoy them just as they are. They listen to the birds sing just as to the human songster, and with as much joy, though unable to classify and dissect either. Of course they know that "they labor not, neither do they spin," but they see God's Providence in the rotation from plant to bug and bird; Providence not only for the lesser but the higher form of life.

And such harmony, leaving each dependent on the other and decking out all "that not even Solomon in all his glory was clothed like one of these"! They all work together for the good of each, and none is out of harmony, except the scientific specimen-collector who very often wantonly destroys specimens from which he is not above believing he himself was evolved. And all the while that he talks of forces and instinct as supplanting his God, he himself cannot imitate the thrush's song or reproduce the hypatica's delicate pastel shades, not to speak of making the bird or plant itself with all the aid of science. Is his instinct or force, the effect of which he can neither imitate nor produce, even superior to his *ego*? Certainly not, for though they cannot create

either bird or plant, they do create their God, each his own, like the ancient idolators.

The scientist sees his specimen. He examines it with scientific assistance. He cuts, kills and classifies. He observes most minutely seed, growth, blossom, pollinization, fruition. He notes habits, sex, selection, nesting, egg, hatching, growth and reproduction. Then he announces his theories, "his laws." He sees the result of cross fertilization. He notes the bird migrations, protective coloring, habits, nests, food. All it brings him is "instinct." On this he inevitably leaves man nothing. Even the lives of some seem to be led wholly upon "instinct," which is not always "nice" for sensitive people.

But to "unscientific observer" loving God and His works, all these things are special manifestations which leave him stronger in his "ignorant" faith in the Divine Giver. He sees in the beautiful hypatica, God's first call to spring; in the arbutus, violet and trillium, God's tribute to his Risen Son, the work of the Redemption complete. And when the ice goes out and the waters quicken, even the lowly frog sings His homely praise. Then for a short time appears in the open, the snake, sinister, little understood, still crawling under the ancient curse and soon to disappear under shelter. Does she come as what she personated upon a famous occasion, to remind us of sin? While we have come to fear her less, few there are who really trust her more. But of this instinctive fear of man for the snake, scientists have little to say. Yet here is a real and obvious instinct actually operative and apparently running back to the great sin.

The unscientific observer still sees "books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything"; he gives to God the things that are God's. Apparently the "unscientific" lover of God sees more accurately than his scientific confrère.

New York.

FRANCIS J. KULIZI.

Anglo-Saxon and Other Countries

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Please allow me to second the protest made by Father Conniff, in AMERICA for October 8, against the Anglo-Saxon cant of the *Washington Post*, and also to express my fervent hope that your correspondent's observations may find a vibrant echo in the minds of all true Americans. Of late years the pens of foreign writers and of domestic hirelings have done much violence to American intelligence. But no imposition of foreigners has been more impudent, and at the same time more artfully masked, than the claims of Anglo-Saxondom to arrogate to itself exclusive authorship of what we have always regarded as America's own. Examine any portion of the print, that has been given to this country, on the subject of Anglo-American relations; strip it of its verbiage, weigh its thought-content, note the force of its suggestion and innuendo, and you will disclose in all its naked ugliness, the attempt to popularize the conviction, (1) that American culture and democracy are essentially one of the streams that flow from the well-spring of Anglo-Saxon civilization, localized in England as its natural source, and impersonated for us in those doughty pioneers we call the Puritans, and after them, of course, in their descendants; (2) that such rather "backward" and "decadent" races as the Latins, the Celts, etc., are but the beneficiaries or clients of this civilization—beggars, in some sort, at the banquet of Anglo-Saxon bounty; and (3) as a corollary of these assumptions, that Catholicism is also a client creed sharing in the decadence of the Latins and other Catholic peoples.

Now, nothing is farther from my intention than to minimize or depreciate the richness of the contribution which the Anglo-Saxons of history have made to Western and even to American civilization. Furthermore, it is with a certain sense of mortification that I repeat a term under the designation of which fall so many honorable people in no way deserving our strictures on

Anglo-Saxon propaganda. Yet fair-minded Anglo-Saxons will be the first to concede us the right to cry down falsehood from whatever quarter it comes. Not individuals, but the pharisaic striving to make racial kinship with Anglo-Saxondom the badge of Americanism, and the insolent patronizing of people of other racial affinities, is the ugly un-American thing we deem it a duty to reprobate with all the severity it deserves.

This is not the column in which to make a historical review of the movements and fusion of racial groups and thus to show how much spurious history parades under the cloak of Anglo-Saxonism. Nor again is it the place to enter into an analysis of the concept of nationality and to prove how the element of race is not a component of genuine Americanism. But we may briefly point out the fact that when three-score wise heads came together at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, with the solemn purpose of formulating a lasting guarantee of the freedom newly won from Anglo-Saxon autocrats, they looked far beyond Anglo-Saxondom for inspiration. The experience of Greece and Rome, of the Italian and Dutch Republics, the political philosophies of France were all laid under contribution no less than the Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights while the instrument on which this nation rests was in the making.

To one who has a sense of historical proportion there is something extremely absurd and provocative of laughter in the smug attitude of the type of "Anglo-Saxon mind" that from its pedestal of fancied superiority looks down upon the "Latin mind" so poor in virtue, and thanks its stars that it is not like unto it and other minds. Were this species of "Anglo-Saxon mind" less crass it might learn a modicum of wisdom from the remembrance that it was none other than the Latin and the Celt who comparatively few centuries ago led his ancestors out of unbreeched barbarism into the light of civilization, taught him the arts of peace, and gave him a culture which he has never surpassed, and a religion that was once his glory. Augustine, Paulinus and Columba recall the story.

Woodstock, Md.

D. B. Z.

The Hunger-Strike in India

To the Editor of AMERICA:

It may interest those of your readers who have followed the articles on the history of the hunger-strike in Ireland to know that in India also the hunger-strike has prevailed from the earliest times until quite recently, and that there is an abundance of material on the subject within the reach of any one who will take the trouble to go to the nearest public library and look it up.

On the subject in general, see Hobson-Jobson, Yule and Burnell's "Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases," *sub voce* Dhurna, pages 315-317 of the London edition of 1903. The many references in this article are well worth looking up. See also Edward Balfour's "Cyclopedia of India," *sub voce* Dharna, volume I, pages 934-935 of the London edition of 1885. Professor Hopkins of Yale has treated the subject on the basis of the law-books and epics, in which he is a recognized authority, in an elaborate article entitled, "On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, volume XXI (1900), pages 146-159. Nothing, however, has been published on the numerous references to the subject in the Buddhist books.

The *locus classicus* of the hunger-strike in the Buddhist books is the eighty-second chapter of the Medium-length discourses, entitled Kingdom-keeper. The date of the Medium-length discourses is uncertain, but the chapter in question is probably three or four or even five hundred years older than the bulk of the New Testament writings. According to this chapter, Kingdom-keeper, a youth of station, heard the Buddha preach the Way of Salvation, resolved to adopt the religious life, and went to the Buddha and

requested to be admitted to the Order of Monks. The Buddha, in accordance with his invariable practise, inquired whether he had obtained the consent of his parents, and on learning that he had not, sent him back to them. His parents refused their consent.

Thereupon, says the text, the youth Kingdom-keeper, not obtaining the consent of his mother and father, right there on the bare ground flung himself down,—“Right here for me death shall be, or retirement from the world!” Both his parents and his friends remonstrated with him, but he remained obdurate. Finally his friends went to his parents and said: “If you will not permit the youth Kingdom-keeper to retire from the house-life to the houseless life, right there will he incur death.” Finally they gave their consent. Then the youth Kingdom-keeper arose, got strength, went to the Buddha, and was admitted to the Order of Monks. The remainder of the chapter is of absorbing interest to all students of the history of religions, and to Catholics in particular, but this is all that is relevant to my immediate purpose. The entire chapter has been translated by Walter Lupton in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, volume XLVI (1894), pages 769-806.

The same story is told, in practically identical language, in one of the divisions of the “Book of Discipline,” of a youth named Sudinna. In Birth-story 14, we read that a youth named Tissa, “like Kingdom-keeper and the rest, went on a hunger-strike for seven days,” and thus forced his unwilling parents to permit him to adopt the religious life. And in the last book of the “Dhammapada Commentary,” we read that a youth named Ocean-of-Beauty, “like Kingdom-keeper and the rest, by dint of great effort, prevailed upon his mother and father to give him permission to enter the Order of Monks.” Perhaps, I may be permitted to inform my readers that my translation of the legends embodied in this commentary has recently been published, in three parts, by the Harvard University Press, under the title “Buddhist Legends.” Ocean-of-Beauty’s hunger-strike will be found at part 3, page 309. The references given below are to this work.

At 3.227, a youth goes on a hunger-strike to obtain the maiden of his choice. At 2.227, a maiden named Curly-locks falls in love with a condemned bandit, and in order to obtain her heart’s desire, goes on a hunger-strike, declaring: “If I can have that young fellow, I will live; if not, death only for me!” Her parents, realizing that she is in deadly earnest, take steps to save the situation. The father bribes the king’s officer to execute an innocent man and releases the guilty, who thereupon marries Curly-locks. The bandit-husband immediately plots to kill his wife for her jewels, and goes on a hunger-strike to force his wife to accompany him on a false errand. The wife yields, but on discovering his real purpose, trips him up and flings him over a cliff to his death, afterwards becoming a nun. But the greater part of this thrilling story is hardly relevant to my purpose.

At 2.319, a poor man goes on a hunger-strike to obtain a boon from a rich man. At 1.243, a maiden named Flower, the youngest of three sisters, humiliated by her failure to obtain a husband after her sisters have married, goes on a hunger-strike and dies. At 3.73, a king, humiliated by his failure to subdue his nephew in battle, goes on a hunger-strike. At 3.89, a farmer, disappointed by the sudden ruin of his crops, goes on a hunger-strike. For further information, the reader is referred to my translation of these stories.

These are typical instances of the hunger-strike as it is presented by the Buddhist books. It will be apparent that the hunger-strike is employed: (1) to obtain permission to adopt the religious life; (2) to obtain the husband or wife of one’s choice; (3) to obtain some other boon; and (4) in despair and disappointment over some failure. The term invariably employed in the Buddhist books is *ahara-upaccheda*, literally, “cutting-off of food,” or, in plain, every-day English, “hunger-strike.”

Albany.

E. W. BURLINGAME.

A M E R I C A

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William B. McCormick, who is investigating conditions in Haiti for AMERICA, is well-known in New York newspaper circles. Up to a short time before leaving for Haiti he was for a number of years managing editor of the "Army and Navy Journal" and therefore is familiar with the military aspect of the question. Previously he had been correspondent of the Associated Press; on the editorial staff of the New York "Press"; reviewer and editorial contributor for the "Sun" and the "Herald," and contributor to AMERICA and other periodicals and magazines.

Mary Immaculate

IT is one of the glories of our age that we have witnessed, if not the ceremony of the definition of the Immaculate Conception, at least the jubilee of its proclamation. Many sighed to see the things that we have seen and to hear the things that we have heard, but neither saw nor heard them. Adam and Eve knew of the stupendous privilege that was to be given to Our Lady. God foretold it to them when He said in the garden after the curse had been pronounced upon the serpent: "I will put enmities between thee and the woman." Isaias dreamed of it, when he spoke of the Virgin who was to bring the Saviour into the world. The Archangel Gabriel knew that it had already been accomplished, when in the silence of the early morning light he stood before the Maid of Israel and spoke those wonderful words: "Hail, full of grace." St. Ambrose, the great Bishop of Milan, had it in his mind when he declared that Mary was free from the slightest trace of sin. St. Ephrem referred to it, when he wrote in the ancient Syriac tongue that the Mother of God was immaculate, undefiled, unstained, absolutely pure and from all sign of sin removed.

Through the centuries theologians explained it, priests preached it, the Faithful believed, and the Council of Trent forbade its denial. But for us it was reserved to have the great consolation of knowing that it is now a dogma of the Faith, and that no one may any longer so much as call it in question. Hundreds of millions of Catholics, of every nation, of every character, of every color, in the palace, in the hovel, in the churches, in the hospitals and in their

homes, will proclaim it, on the eighth of December, with their humble but loyal joy and gratitude, and there will ascend to God's throne a great hymn of happiness because Mary, God's Mother and their Mother, was never touched even in the remotest way by the shadow of sin.

Mary Immaculate is the heavenly patron of the United States. She is also the Queen of Peace, and it is not, doubtless, without her benign interposition that the momentous Conference at Washington should be in session on the very day that commemorates her singular privilege and in the very land that petitioned so earnestly and so repeatedly that it should be removed from the realm of pious speculation and placed apart among the truths of Revelation. Catholics, therefore, would do well to beg the sinless Virgin, on her glorious feast, to inspire the august assembly of the nations with the true wisdom that will guide them in their search for the way to secure stable peace.

Destroying the Constitution

SIGNING the Campbell-Willis "anti-beer bill," President Harding quietly tore out several precious pages from the book of American history and threw them into the scrap-basket. But much may be alleged by way of excuse. In passing the bill Congress destroyed a constitutional guarantee and violated the Eighteenth Amendment. Possibly the President was moved by the consideration that the sooner the bill became law, the sooner it could be brought under review by the Supreme Court.

By the Eighteenth Amendment, the manufacture, sale and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is prohibited. The sale of intoxicating liquors not intended for beverage purposes is not forbidden by the Amendment. It is, however, forbidden by certain under-officials who have no more authority to pass a law or even to interpret one, than has the Ahkound of Swat. This prohibition has existed for some time. According to the New York Times for November 24, Dr. S. W. Hoehn of St. Francis Hospital, Pittsburgh, attributes the death of two pneumonia patients to the inability of the institution to procure whiskey not for beverage but for medicinal purposes. Dr. Hoehn added that although fifteen patients in the hospital needed whiskey, "the hospital had not a drop," and, according to the Times correspondent, could obtain none, although an application for permission to purchase whiskey had been sent to the officers of the law some time before.

By an unconstitutional assumption of power Congress, adopting the Campbell-Willis bill, has legalized the tactics of these underlings. The Amendment does not forbid the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for medicinal purposes. But what the Amendment clearly does not prohibit, is now prohibited by Congress. No one seems to be disturbed by this outrageous usurpation, and hence it is unreasonable to think that any considerable group of Americans will concern themselves on

learning that this same bill destroys a fundamental right, the partial violation of which by Great Britain was one of the prime causes of the American Revolution. For the old breed is dead.

As a matter of historical interest, however, it may be pointed out that by the Fourth Amendment the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, is guaranteed against Congress. Congress now declares that while the citizen is secure in his house, he is not secure in his person, his papers, or his effects. A certain security in property rights is respected, but rights far more important are thus destroyed by Congressional action. It is obvious, of course, that if Congress arrogates the power to destroy one of the rights guaranteed in the Amendment, it will on suitable occasion destroy the others.

Thus we are thrown back to the conditions prevailing in pre-Revolutionary days. That is the mild view of the case. The real fact is that present conditions are far worse. For in the eighteenth century Americans were numerous, and brooked no infringement upon their rights. Today that type of American is practically extinct. Freedom of the press, freedom in education, and freedom of religious worship will be the next rights to go. But who cares? Men who will not defend a right are unfit to possess it.

Help the Struggling Actor!

THERE is a glimmering of hope that a dark, dank dungeon yawns for a New York producer of improper plays. Following Judge McAdoc's scathing indictment, License Commissioner Gilchrist last week gave the same producer three days to withdraw his putrid wares. If he refuses, the Commissioner can revoke the theater's license. Further punishment he cannot impose. But the Commissioner's action is a strong additional witness against the producer now out on bail, and may add another stripe to the uniform which, in the desire of all good men, that unsavory person will soon wear.

Cannot the Actor's Equity Association now take action to protect its members against these plays? Equity is said to be very powerful. According to report, it has been successful in obtaining for the actor a real as distinguished from a bogus contract, in securing him a better and surer salary, and in improving the conditions under which he is obliged to work. Having protected the actor against thieves, can it not now protect him, and especially her, against the immoral harpies among the producers? Thousands of actors and actresses bitterly resent the position into which they have been forced. They abhor the productions which they help to stage. But they are helpless to protect their wives, their sisters, their daughters, and other good women, from the insult of being obliged to reproduce verbal improprieties and worse, before the public. They must take the role assigned them, or nothing. A well-

known actress, by repute a practising Catholic, confessed that she was frankly ashamed of the pathological production in which she took the leading part, but could get no other, and she needed bread, and occasionally a little butter.

The Actor's Equity Association could profitably use the same energy against this deplorable condition which it employed to better the material welfare of its members. It might insist upon the insertion into its double-riveted contracts of a clause giving an actor the right of appeal against an objectionable or immoral play. In connection with the Catholic Actors' Guild and similar associations, the Equity Association might set up a private committee of censors, and refuse to permit its members to engage in productions rejected by this body. The better class of actors respect their profession, but while they do not respect many a prosperous producer who can be distinguished only with difficulty from a panderer, they have no adequate defense against him. Until that defense is furnished, the respectability of the profession will drop in the estimation of the public, and the end may bring upon the whole profession the imposition of humiliating restrictions. Here is a work at hand, a work that needs doing, and Equity can do much to start it on effective lines.

Corporation Blood-Money

THE text is taken from the hearings instituted by the New York Transit Commission in the case of the New York Interborough Rapid Transit Company.

Since 1918 this corporation has been raising a cry of poverty. There was no remedy but an increased fare. At that very time, the Interborough was paying dividends of 17½%, and was borrowing money at 5½% to pay them. It was putting nothing aside against a rainy day; it was not even keeping its rolling stock in condition. According to Judge Shearn, counsel to the Commission, if this corporation had been content with a dividend of 7% instead of forcing dividends of 15%, 17½% and even of 20%, it would have had a surplus on June 30, 1919, of \$26,020,800. Today, in the words of its own president, it is in so deplorable a condition that "no one outside a lunatic asylum would lend it a dollar." The corporation published false reports, made false entries, and listed liabilities as assets. "Don't you, after all these years, know what an asset is?" asked Judge Shearn. Apparently the witness and his company had one definition in conducting their own affairs and another in promoting the interests of the corporation. It carried as an asset worth \$8,000,000, on which it paid dividends, a street railway which had a deficit of \$5,000,000, and was piling up an annual deficit at the rate of \$1,000,000. "Personally," testified the president, "I would not pay anything for their shares of stock," but he signed a statement which listed these same shares as a valuable property.

As a result of these wild-cat methods, some shameful results followed. The workers were led to believe that

unless they consented to a reduction in wages, a receivership would follow. Fearing that this change might be from the frying-pan into the fire, they waived their contracts and voluntarily accepted a cut of 10%, amounting to an annual total of \$2,600,000. On hearing this news, the bankers who held the company's notes, advanced the interest one per cent. To continue the wild-cat methods, investors had to be paid to "come in," with the expectation that the whole bill would ultimately be unloaded on the public through higher fares. "In other words," asked Judge Shearn, "\$390,000 of this voluntary concession went to pay extra interest to the bankers and others who held your notes?" "That is correct," replied the president.

It is also correct, and in order, to say that this reduction of \$2,600,000, now in the hands of the Interborough, is nothing but blood-money that calls down upon its holders the fearful anger of an avenging God. It is further correct, and in order, to add that the hands of Catholics, if there be any who brought about this iniquitous condition which robbed employees to pay for the results of a financial orgy, are stained more deeply with this blood than the hands of others. Unless they repent and make suitable restitution, it will plead against them at the bar of God. The time is gone, indeed it never existed, when a Catholic could live in plenty on the fruits of a corporation, excuse himself for the corporation's excesses by saying that he knew nothing of them until long after their perpetration, and then go to confession with the clear conscience that he need adjudge himself neither of oppression of the poor nor of any violation of the Seventh Commandment.

If a man has wealth, he must remember that he is nothing more than the steward of that wealth. He must take pains to guarantee that this wealth does harm to no man; more, he must administer it in every way as becomes a trustee for God's poor. He may no more use his money to oppress the weak than he may use his mind to think evil thoughts, or his tongue to curse the widow and the

fatherless, or his hand to strike down the starving child that begs in the name of God for a crust of bread. If he does, he is worse than he that calleth his brother a fool. The responsibility which comes with wealth is fearful, and he may never forget it. If he cannot manage his wealth properly, it is to him an occasion of sin. If the occasion cannot be made remote, he must give it up, just as every Christian must resign all things, even life itself, which come between him and God. If his wealth means that a corporation in which he is interested pays less than living-wages to the worker, he is a man of blood. For it is written "The bread of the needy is the life of the poor; he that defraudeth them thereof is a man of blood. . . . He that sheddeth blood and he that defraudeth the laborer of his hire, are brothers." Let him not give rich gifts to the Church or to any good work, before he pays his just dues to his employees. God is not mocked. "The Lord will not accept any person against a poor man." And let him fear for his soul with an exceeding fear, for again it is written:

I will come to you in judgment and will be a speedy witness against sorcerers and adulterers and false swearers and them that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow and the fatherless, and oppress the stranger, and have not feared me, saith the Lord of hosts.

Nor is any rich man safe from the destruction to come, unless he takes daily counsel from St. James:

Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl in your miseries which shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire. You have stored up to yourselves wrath against the last days. Behold the hire of laborers who have reaped your fields which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

By any rich Catholic to whom the passage may refer, whether he be connected with the Interborough or any similar corporation, this weeping and howling must be done before he enters the confessional. Otherwise the absolution imparted is but another chain linking him to damnation.

L i t e r a t u r e

THE SONNET

THE oldest extant example of the sonnet, except an unimportant one by Lodovico della Vernaccia, is the "*Natura d'Amore*," written about the year 1220 by the Chancellor of Frederick II, Pier delle Vigne of Capua, whom Dante puts in the Forest of Suicides (*Inferno*, xiii). The rhyme sequence is the same as in the following translation of the "*Natura d'Amore*":

Since Love is never seen of mortal eyes,
Nor touched by hands as things corporeal be,
Full many folk there be so foolish wise
They deem that Love is nothing utterly!
But then since Love doth often tyrannize
Within the heart beneath his empery,
At greater worth should we this spirit prize
Than grosser fact which face to face we see.

Through virtue springing from magnetic stone
How steel attracteth ne'er by us is seen,
Yet clingeth it to what it doth distract.
I from yon thought into belief have grown
That Love existeth still; yea, this, I ween.
Is doctrine men will evermore maintain.

The first sonneteer of importance was Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, who died in 1294. He is not the Fra Guittone d'Arezzo to whom is ascribed the invention of the gamut. His poetry is not of value for the thought in it, but he set the form of the sonnet which Dante perfected, and which Petrarch soon afterward used with great skill. Muratori said there is at Milan an unpublished Latin treatise on Italian poetry written as early as 1332 by Marcantonio di Tempo, a Paduan judge, in which sixteen different species of sonnets are enumerated. The Guittonean and

Shakespearean sonnets are the only forms recognized in English for the so-called Miltonic sonnet is not a distinct species. The name comes through the Italian from the Provençal *sonet*, a diminutive of *son* (Latin, *sonus*). Troubadours, like Guillaume de Poitiers, and Gerard de Borneil, called their compositions sonnets because they were set to music.

Muratori and Biadani thought the sonnet came directly from the Provençal, others derive it from the Sicilian *strombotto*, and Borgognoni holds it grew out of the Italian *ballata*. A typical *ballata* has four quatrains: the first is called the *ripresa*, which makes a statement; the second is the *prima mutazione*, which commonly takes an opposing position; the third is the *seconda mutazione*, which in another form is still opposed to the statement in the *ripresa*; and the last quatrain is the *volta*, which returns to the first statement. The second, third and fourth quatrains are called the *stansa*. Such a poem is Petrarch's sixth *ballata* in "*Laura in Vita*." Poems like the *ballata* and the *strombotto*, and the Latin prose period with its application in the ecclesiastical collect, as Aubrey de Vere thought, probably influenced the growth of the sonnet; and they are of service in a slight degree in making intelligible its nature.

An octave with alternate rhymes is a *schema incatenata*. The sequence *a, b, b, a, a, b, b, a*, is called the *schema incrociata*. The *schema incatenata* is the older form, but the *schema incrociata* was preferred by Dante, Guido, Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoja, and others among the early Italian poets, and it became prominent in the fourteenth century. Of Petrarch's 317 sonnets 303 have that sequence in the octave. In the Guittonean sestet the arrangement of the rhymes varies. Dante prefers the form *c, d, e, c, d, e*. Petrarch uses this form 116 times, and alternate rhymes in 107 cases. Critics permit almost any combination of rhymes in the Guittonean sestet except the closing couplet. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in the preface to an anthology of American sonnets, said Petrarch closed his sonnets with a rhymed couplet "as fearlessly as Shakespeare." He does use a final couplet four times in 317 sonnets, but that is not a "fearless" use. Theodore Watts-Dunton said:

A sonnet is a wave of melody
From heaving waters of the impassioned soul.
A billow of tidal music one and whole
Flows in the "octave"; then returning free,
Its ebbing surges in the "sestet" roll
Back to the depths of life's tumultuous sea.

This metaphor has found favor as a description of the Guittonean sonnet. The progress of a breaker consists of a landward flow where the green wave mounts until its perfected crest reaches the zenith of its arch; then, without pause, it topples, and as tumbling foam it sweeps to the curve of froth that marks the tide-limit for that instant. There it pauses. Thereafter the same water slips back, a gray current, to the ocean. In the typical Guittonean sonnet the first quatrain is like the stage of the green wave, and it partly sets forth the thought; the second quatrain is the white foamy advance of the same breaker. Then there is a pause; commonly a full stop. The sestet is the gray ebb of the same thought, which dies away at completion. In the sestet while unity is strictly observed the thought is changed.

The unity of the sonnet's thought is one of the most important qualities of this form of verse. After a consideration of great sonnets like Shakespeare's xviii, xix, xxxiii, xlix, lxxi, cii, cxvi and cxxix, Dante's "*Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare*," Petrarch's "Three Graces" in "*Laura in Vita*," Michelangelo's "*Giunta e già*," Milton's sonnet on his blindness, Wordsworth's "The world is too much with us," and Mrs. Meynell's "Renouncement," the unity of thought is the most salient characteristic. The expression is complete but in no wise redundant, and the thought is such that it fits perfectly within the sonnet's narrow room of

fourteen lines. This thought in the noted sonnets is always grave, dignified, restrained, distinguished. Levity, sentimentality, are insolent intrusions into the sonnet form. The purpose of a sonnet is, as Watts-Dunton said, "That a single wave of emotion, when emotion is either too deeply charged with thought, or too much adulterated with fancy, to pass spontaneously into the movements of pure lyric, shall be embodied in a single metrical flow and return." The form is artistic, not artificial; not affected, nor merely ingenious. Its consequent restraint lends a dignity to what it expresses such that grave men like Shakespeare, Dante, Camoens, Milton, and Michelangelo especially delighted in its use.

The metrical effect of the Guittonean sonnet rises toward a climax at the end of the octave and dies away at the close. Petrarch would have the end more sonorous than the beginning, but not epigrammatic nor obtrusive. As every line, hue, shadow, and the other elements of a painting must be kept in the general tone, all the metrical factors of a sonnet are to be controlled with precision, because the brevity of the poem makes a flaw conspicuous. Alliteration is assertive, and it is to be used cautiously; the same rule holds for assonance. Rhyme is emphatic also, hence rhyme between a word in the body of the line and its closing word, or between the interior words in adjacent lines are blemishes. If the rhymes beat upon a single vowel the tune is flattened. The emphasis of close rhymes causes the objection to a final couplet; and even if Rossetti or Wordsworth has used this couplet the melody in itself of his sonnets would have been better without it. Rhyme, alliteration and assonance are bright colors which must be balanced, composed, distributed, so that no isolated part of the picture flares out insolently.

The thought in typical examples of the Shakespearean sonnet grows steadily through the three quatrains without any turn as in the Guittonean sonnet, and the final couplet takes the place of the sestet. Shakespeare did not invent this form of verse, he only used it best, for it was invented by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded in 1547, seventeen years before Shakespeare's birth.

The first English sonneteer was Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542). Surrey, born in 1547, was his friend. These two men are important in the history of English literature. Wyatt often keeps the regular Guittonean rhyme sequence in his octaves, but he always ends a sonnet with a couplet. Surrey, who also began the use of blank verse in English, and Daniel modified Wyatt's sonnet form into that afterward called Shakespearean or English. It was Sir Philip Sidney in a few of the sonnets in "*Astrophel and Stella*" who first avoided the final couplet. As typical Shakespearean sonnets may be selected the thirtieth, seventy-third, and the one hundred and second. The wave movement that might represent a Shakespearean sonnet would be a breaker running in and striking a precipitous coast like that of southern England. The abrupt backward dash of the spray symbolizes the closing couplet.

AUSTIN O'MALLEY.

HYMN OF THE SWINE-HERD

Lord, that I may know Thee!
Thou of the mystic laws
By which the wren, below me,
Bears off my straws.

Lord, that I may fear Thee!
Thou of the stricken cheek,
Than whom the robin, near me,
Is not so meek.

Lord, that I may adore Thee!
Thou of the blue above,
Neath whom the lark, now o'er me,
Carols of love.

O Lord, to find and know Thee
As Herd of me and mine,
So that the wolf, below me,
May spare my swine!

FRANCIS CARLIN.

REVIEWS

Work, Wealth and Wages. By JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., Ph.D., Chicago: Matre & Co. Cloth, \$1.00.

Referring to the author's former volume on the relations between capital, labor and the Church, "The World Problem," a noted Anglican writer stated in the *American Church Monthly* that it had "impressed everyone as one of the ablest books written in America on the subject involved." The present volume is not intended to replace either this or any other of the writer's earlier works on the great social questions of the day. Its distinct purpose is to gather into brief compass the vital conclusions arrived at upon these supreme issues with which every one must now be acquainted. Thus the question of Socialism, upon which so many articles have already appeared from Father Husslein's pen during more than a decade of years, is presented here from almost every point of view. But of even greater value are the constructive discussions on such questions as wages, strikes, labor unionism, the closed shop, unemployment, woman's labor and similar living topics. Especially illuminating are the chapters devoted to copartnership and cooperation, and to the modern application of the medieval-gild ideals, pointed out for imitation and emulation by successive Pontiffs. In this connection attention is called by the publishers to Dr. Ryan's statement in his book on "Social Reconstruction," concerning the present author: "No one has described better the gild system, or drawn more important conclusions from the spirit of the gild system with regard to cooperative production."

But there still remains the second part of the author's volume in which he determines the correct Catholic meaning of the terms, "equality and fraternity," that have become the battle-cry of our day. Equally important is his definition of the rights of private property and of their limitations. A special section is devoted to the discussion of the great subject of Christian charity. The views of Ozanam on poverty and wealth, as here expressed, will come as a startling revelation to many. Insistence is placed upon the need of "scientific charity," adapted to our own complex conditions, and on the training of a special class of Catholic charity workers.

The universal appeal of the book consists in the brevity, clearness and popularity of the treatment, and the copiousness of the matter presented; in the sub-headings constantly used in every chapter to indicate each new turn of thought; in the progressive, yet strictly Catholic attitude of the writer; and last but not least in the modest price to which the publishers have reason to call special attention, since it places the book within the reach of all, whether for personal use or for presentation. The artistically illustrated jacket makes it particularly suitable as a Christmas gift, adapted to every class of readers.

J. M. T.

Reviews and Critical Papers. By LIONEL JOHNSON. Edited with an Introduction by ROBERT SHAFER. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.00.

The thirteen critical papers by the gifted Lionel Johnson which Mr. Shafer has rescued from the *Academy* of the early nineties are very worthy of being preserved in the little book under review. Written not long after the author's graduation from Oxford and his conversion to the Catholic Faith, they already express in careful prose those sound principles of criticism and that unflinching sense of true literary values that characterize his later essays. While giving in the form of book reviews his opinion of such new works of the period as "The Light That Failed," "Barrack-

Room Ballads," "The Wrecker," "Marcella," "One of Our Conquerors," "Eighteenth-Century Vignettes," etc., Mr. Johnson constantly displays, as Mr. Shafer well observes, that "learned good sense" which generally marked his criticisms, for "his judgment was informed, disciplined by intimate, repeated contact with the enduring things in the classical and modern literatures." There is many a passage in the book that is quite as just and discerning as the following excerpt from the author's review of Kipling's "Life's Handicap":

Just now, a new philosophy is coming into fashion; it is required of a man that he be virile, robust and bitter. Laugh at life and jest with the world: waste no words and spare no blushes: whatever you do, do it doggedly, and whatever you say, put a sting into it. In sentiment, let Voltaire talking Ibsen be your ideal: in life, rival the Flying Dutchman for recklessness, the Wandering Jew for restlessness, and the American rowdy for readiness to act. Life is short, so stuff it full: art is long, so cut it short . . . care nothing for beauty and truth, but everything for brevity and effect. . . . But if you would be a modern man of letters, before all else, ignore the Ten Commandments and the classics. Swear by the sciences, which you have not studied, and the foreign literature, which you read in translations.

The movement of which Mr. Johnson detected the beginnings thirty years ago, is now, unfortunately almost too familiar to excite remark. Of special interest to Catholic readers will be the author's reviews of Père Caussin's "The Holy Court," Cardinal Manning's "Pastime Papers" and Richard Le Gallienne's "The Religion of a Literary Man," the last-named paper being notable for Mr. Johnson's keen analysis of his subject's sophistries.

W. D.

Sea Power in the Pacific. A Study of the American-Japanese Naval Problems. By HECTOR C. BYWATER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. \$5.00.

"When the United States relieved Spain of the Philippines," writes Mr. Bywater, "she gave hostages to fortune in a sense which the American people have never fully realized." Mr. Bywater has written a sober but altogether fascinating book, to bring realization a degree nearer the American people. Twenty years ago, the philosopher of Archey Road, the wise and judicious Mr. Dooley, was able to show in two lines all that the American people knew of "The Philippine question." Most of us know very little more about it today. "I'm f'r takin' thim in," says Mr. Hennessy. "Hang on to them," says Mr. Hennessy stoutly, "what we've got we must hold." So we held on to them. In that policy, at least, we were persistent. Why and for what, were inconvenient questions. The country was war-mad, and to give up any of "our Island possessions," was to show the white feather. Indeed we gave hostages to fortune when we annexed an empire, not knowing what to do with it, and held to it, with no clear understanding of the new duties, obligations, and perils arising from our entrance into Asia. Today, in military and naval circles, the question which puzzled Mr. Dooley, is debated, "What shall we do with th' Philippines?" Mr. Bywater quotes an unnamed but "distinguished" naval officer, who writes "The Philippines are for Japan to take whenever she likes to take them." Nowhere in the Philippines is there a guard which could offer ten minutes' resistance to a Japanese fleet, and the rescuing American squadron, steaming from Hawaii, 5,000 miles away, would arrive with depleted bunkers to "find the Japanese flag waving over Manila." In all the Far East we have not one first-class naval station, with docks large enough to accommodate our dreadnaughts, not to speak of the super-dreadnaught, or equipped with machine-shops for repairs. Such a station might be erected at Guam, and must be, if we expect to hold our own, in case of an attack on the part of Japan. Without plenty of facilities for coaling, oil-supplies, food, and repairs, the most powerful fleet assembled is apt to be a liability rather than an asset.

It must not be thought, however, that Mr. Bywater advocates immediate arming for war. If I do not misinterpret him, his thesis is that the alternative is withdrawal from the Pacific, or armament on a scale which more than rivals England's. But he sees no chance of withdrawal. "Big business," at least at present, vetoes that plan. It may well be that we shall yet rue the day when we forgot the teachings of the fathers, and crossing the seas to plant an imperial flag, began the policy of imposing upon strange peoples a rule which they neither sought nor have freely chosen.

P. L. B.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Periodicals.—The current *Catholic Mind* opens with Father Leslie Walker's convincing paper on "The Reunion of Christianity." Father Hull writes about the modern abuse of "Severing Parent and Child," and the number ends with the Holy Father's letter to the Polish Bishops on "Church and State" and with his address to the Society of Catholic Youth. The November *Month* also presents a varied table of contents. Father Pollen contributes an interesting paper on "Thomas XXVth Earl of Arundel and his Catholicism, 1585-1646;" Father E. Boyd-Barrett examines the Freudian "Theory of Dreams"; Father Thurston has another article on Catherine Emmerich, and Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew ends his "Pages From the Past." The fall *Dublin Review* begins with some "Unpublished Letters of Cardinal Wiseman to Dr. Manning." Mr. Belloc's "Gibbon and the Ebionites" mercilessly exposes the ignorance and dishonesty of that anti-Christian "authority" once more; Father Thurston defends "The Catholic Ideal of Marriage" against E. S. P. Haynes, and there are papers on "Dante and Islam," "Mr. Wells and Modern Science," "The Uniates" and "Sir Walter Scott."

English History.—"Early Britain" (Longmans), by Norman Ault, M. A., presents an outline of primitive British life before the Roman conquest and is offered as a suitable text for use in the upper forms of schools. The author's style is clear and interesting, and much information is compressed into a brief compass, yet Mr. Ault is not a trustworthy guide for Christian youth. Like other recent compilers of textbooks, he blindly assumes the truth of a host of infidel theories, which he presents as established facts. For example, the author supposes that man's gradual evolution from the condition of a beast is proven by modern science beyond cavil while his chapter on primitive religion is largely based on modern rationalistic "dogmatic" vagaries.—A new edition of Wyatt Davies' "History of England" (Longmans) is brought up to the Armistice of 1918. For many years past the volume has been widely used in Catholic schools. The arrangement of matter is concise and well systematized, while the Catholic position is forcibly presented. Perhaps more stress might have been laid on the picturesque and romantic element in history, though no doubt the manual is intended to be supplemented by the living voice of the instructor. Many will think that the author's exposition of modern British imperialism is too laudatory, and while the treatment of Irish questions is fairly sympathetic, still the author does not seem to have a thorough appreciation of the true causes of Irish discontent. An abridged edition of the same book, also published by Longmans, is an excellent synopsis, admirably adopted for review work.

Ireland's Future.—The December number of the *Survey Graphic* (112 E. 19th St., N. Y., \$0.30) devotes its pages to answering the question "What would the Irish do with Ireland?," offering articles from a dozen or more eminent writers who succeed in making the magazine highly interesting to every friend of Irish freedom. The opening paper on "Irish Anticipations" is from the pen of A. E., Erskine Childers describes "Government under the Dail Eireann," "Richard Rowley" tells

what "Ulster's Position" is in his opinion, James Stephens sees "Ireland Returning to Her Fountains," R. M. Henry describes "Irish Schools of Tomorrow," Sir Edward Coey Bigger, M. D., writes about "New Health for Old," Lionel Smith-Gordon forecasts "The Economic Consequences of Irish Freedom," Sir Horace Plunkett delivers "The Message of the Farmers of Ireland," James G. Douglas gives an account of "The Irish White Cross," S. Savel Zimand narrates "The Romance of Templecrone," which is the account of how Patrick Gallagher successfully fought the "gombeen man," the Irish usurer, and introduced "cooperation" into Dungloe, and there are also contributions by Mrs. Skeffington, Countess Markievicz, Francis Hackett, and Padraic Colum, and pictures by Grace Henry, Power O'Malley and Paul Henry, besides numerous photographs.

EDUCATION

Textbook Twaddle

SERIOUS would be the results of a nationalized education directed by a Federal Secretary; more serious than is generally contemplated. It is obvious that the natural results of the system would be to reduce all to a dead level, to make the nation a mass of parrot-like individuals repeating the same things, thinking the same thoughts, aping the same methods.

But another great danger lies in the possibility that our national ideals would be gradually undermined. The proposed Secretary will be a member of the Cabinet, placed in a position far more powerful and influential than his colleague, the Secretary of the Treasury. Now an administration may not be overwhelmingly American in its views. It is always political, and frequently more or less marked by a leaning toward some non-Catholic sect. Of the present Cabinet, the majority belong to two sects neither of which is noted for generous views outside its own confines. Since the days of Roosevelt, there has been no Catholic in the Cabinet, although Catholics form fully one-half of the church-going population.

Hence the danger of a Secretary of Education, appointed by an administration, not over-particular as to scholastic efficiency, but devoted to the rule of paying one's political debts, or inspired by a desire to favor some fellow-Mason, or some sectarian friend. If politically qualified, Professor Van Tyne, for instance, would be an excellent choice. He is widely known as a writer on historical subjects, and has added at least one volume to the series edited by Dr. Hart, "The American Nation." For many reasons, he would make an acceptable Secretary. The sacrifice of a few historical truths for the benefit of Great Britain, or the denunciation of the Catholic spirit as alien and dangerous to the country, would not be counted against him by an administration not overburdened by a special interest in textbooks.

ENGLAND AND DEMOCRACY

BUT there is another man in the field with an equal or a greater claim to fame in the textbook line: Mr. Edward Greenlaw. Mr. Greenlaw, like Mr. Van Tyne, is Anglomaniacly touched. Moreover, he has a decided penchant for creating religious differences by making disparaging remarks and slurring innuendos about Catholics, even if he has to go out of his way to do so. He enjoys the title of "Keegan Professor" of English in the University of North Carolina and offers us a textbook, which he calls "The Builders of Democracy," declaring it to be a new and original conception of historical textbook-making. Mr. Greenlaw, who, by the way, also writes articles for Collier's new "Encyclopedia," reminds us that his work is not only useful as a supplementary textbook in history and English classics, but is to serve several purposes, not usual in a "mere textbook." To bring out this new idea the book is divided into three parts. The first of these the author defines as a propaganda for good citizenship, which is approached from a somewhat new angle. This is

explained by the definition of the second part, which has for its object to give the boys and girls a clear idea of the relationship between England and America, as the joint founders of free government. The full meaning of this "Stupendous Achievement," declares Mr. Greenlaw, has hitherto been missed, and we are presumably to thank him and Providence for the equally stupendous discovery. The third part is intended to illustrate in song and story the spirit that united the free peoples in the world in this new-old conflict with the monster of tyranny, and among the illustrations we find a liberal sprinkling of speeches by Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George. Naturally a large portion of the contents of this work has been compiled, and the compilation so selected as to convey to the student the highest opinion of British ideals, these ideals being pictured chiefly as England "the deadly enemy, then as now, of absolute tyranny."

The student will naturally conclude that England was the first to conceive the idea of democracy as a governing principle; also that the United States owes to England the inspiration which prompted this country to adopt these principles. There is throughout Mr. Greenlaw's book much unconscious humor, to which, unfortunately, the young student will scarcely respond. For instance: the passage, already quoted, representing England then as now "the deadly enemy of absolute tyranny" would draw a smile from anyone who reflects that it was the despotism of England which brought about the Revolution. No less absurd is the mention of Cromwell's soldiers, who are introduced to our young folks as "men who were not professional soldiers, but deeply religious godly farmers." If our youth be permitted to read some of what these "godly farmers" did for a living they will probably need a new definition of the words "godly" and "religious." There is certainly a smile in the statement that after the publication of King James' version of the Bible, "the most wonderful of English books" the effect was such that "England became a Church. Every man had his Bible as a guide for his thought and conduct. He needed no interpreter." But we are forced to laugh outright, when Mr. Greenlaw introduces Lloyd George. We had hitherto connected the Welshman with the humble home of a cobbler, or something of the kind, but here he steps into the light against an entirely different background. We are told: "The British or Welsh, as they are known to us, still keep traces of their old language and traditions. In the 16th century a Welsh family, to which Henry VIII and the great Queen Elizabeth belonged, ruled England, and David Lloyd George, Premier of Great Britain during the Great War, is a Welshman, that is, he is descended from the race to which King Arthur belonged." It's great to be Welsh!

ENGLISH ANTECEDENTS

AS we follow Mr. Greenlaw's narrative we find him skipping glibly from one period to another, picking a poem here, quoting a passage from some historian there, carefully presenting England as the fulfilment of the law, notwithstanding an occasional rebuke for some little disorder. Being of the Wilsonian school he plagiarizes his master by telling us that the Revolution was not fought against the English people, but against the English Government. He might have gone still closer and said the English soldiers. He emphasizes that the spiritual unity between England and the United States, which Pitt and Burke saw and valued, "has become a great and inspiring fact today." He quotes Tennyson's poetry to show the intimate relation between England and America, and quotes Burns and Gray to prove the foreshadowing of a democracy which found expression in America, inspired by the spirit of England. In brief: there is nothing here for which we have not to thank English genius.

Strangely enough Mr. Greenlaw appears to overlook two great flaws in the democracy that England planted both in the Southern and the Northern Colonies of America, flaws expressed in religion and slavery. It is a curious fact that while in 1772 an English

judge, Lord Mansfield, declared that slavery was "so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law," when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, slavery was still legalized by positive law in every one of the British-American colonies. In truth, one might extend this still further by calling to mind that when nearly a century later the Civil War broke out, those who fought for the continuation of slavery found favor with the British "Democracy."

As to religion, Mr. Greenlaw, who no doubt calls himself a "100 per cent. American patriot," appears to have overlooked the first Amendment to the Constitution. He takes pains to slur the Catholic religion, ignoring the fact that he may thus offend teachers and students alike, in the country where religious opinion is supposed to be free from criticism. We are told that the Puritans "believed that the source of religious truth was to be found in the Bible, not in the priesthood," that "unlike the Spanish adventurers, who sought only gold and jewels these Englishmen were prepared to develop the new country as a permanent home." Mr. Greenlaw takes us down to Southern France and tells us how in 1655 a colony of Protestants, living there, "were exterminated because of their refusal to accept the State religion." The Inquisition is explained in six words: "A court of injustice and torture." Quoting another writer he does not fail to bring out that Edmund Andros was engaged in a Popish plot; and Catholic progress in South America is viewed through the personal acts of Cortez and Pizarro, just as Catholics in general are largely standardized by the alleged character of the second Phillip of Spain. The scenario which Mr. Greenlaw projects upon his historical picture screen does not tally with facts. When John Jay in 1774 addressed the people of Great Britain, he said: "We think the legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe." He evidently had not discerned any special brand of democracy, handed over by England of which we might now be so exceedingly proud.

A SINISTER MASK

VERY glibly the Inquisition is characterized, but of the *auto da fé* in Massachusetts, Mr. Greenlaw has no word. He slurs the Catholic Church, but he does not tell our youth that it was a Catholic Governor of New York, Thomas Dongan, who first took up the cudgel for the protection of his people against English oppression, nor that it was a Catholic, Lord Baltimore, who first established a colony, where religious liberty was in favor. Our youth is not informed that so great was Protestant intolerance that at the establishment of the Union in not one colony were Catholics accorded equal political rights. The progress of Spanish conquerors is impeached, because they were Catholics, but the sacrifices of French and Spanish priests for the benefit of mankind and the spread of Christianity are slighted for the same reason. Interspersing this perverted history with occasional bursts of enthusiasm at some heroic deed by some heroic figure, Mr. Greenlaw insidiously attempts to hide his real object of English and anti-Catholic propaganda under the guise of the American patriot's mask. But it is only a mask. Fairminded men and women of understanding and with some knowledge of history will easily detect the camouflage and see through the disguise. One might even smile at the attempt. But with our youth it is a very different matter. The Catholic young man and woman would become disgusted or distrustful, the non-Catholic would be led into the narrow field of stupid bigotry. In either case Mr. Greenlaw's "stupendous" discovery is merely textbook-twaddle, to be used for sinister purposes.

But the point is this: Think of this "Kegan Professor," or anyone else of his brand as the head of a Department for nationalized education, and one may safely conjecture conditions two generations from today.

C. M. WAAGE.

SOCIOLOGY

The State as Parent

WE cannot pay too much honor and respect to woman in her God-given vocation as the mother of men, brought into the world to know and to do the will of God; and any effort to lighten that task is deserving of mature consideration. Well does Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his only literary contribution of note in his medical capacity, his essay on "The Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever," speak of the tender care given those who are about to assume the supreme responsibility of motherhood:

The woman about to become a mother, or with her newborn infant on her bosom, should be the object of trembling care and sympathy wherever she bears her tender burden or stretches her aching limbs. The very outcast of the streets has pity upon her sister in degradation when the seal of promised maternity is impressed upon her. The remorseless vengeance of the law, brought down upon its victim by a machinery as sure as destiny, is arrested in its fall by a word which reveals her transient claims for mercy. The solemn prayer of the liturgy singles out her sorrows from the multiplied trials of life, to plead for her in the hour of peril. God forbid that any member of the profession to which she trusts her life, doubly precious at that eventful period, should hazard it negligently, unadvisedly or selfishly.

There is no doubt that proper training in the care of prospective mothers and new-born infants would prove of great assistance in bringing about a decrease in the all too great death-rate in these classes in our country. Miss Julia Lathrop, until recently chief of the Children's Bureau, testified in recent Senate hearings that nearly 18,000 mothers and 200,000 infants under one year of age perish every year in the United States from causes most of which could be removed by proper instruction and information. Since the annual number of births in this country does not reach 1,500,000, these figures mean that one out of every seven children born dies before it reaches the age of one year, for the lack of proper knowledge in those who are caring for it. How can that knowledge be imparted to the masses?

FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

SO the stage has been set for the whirlwind progress of the "Sheppard-Towner Maternity Bill." It deals with a matter in which every citizen, without exception, is interested, for the children who are being brought into the world today will form our citizenry of tomorrow, the men and women upon whom the position of our country among the nations of the world will depend. The present conditions in regard to maternity and the care of infants, every one admits, are very much in need of improvement; and very strong forces declared in favor of the maternity bill. Among them were fourteen national women's organizations, representing ten millions of women and including representatives of every class and religion. Miss Jeanette Rankin, the first woman to sit in the House of Representatives, was the original mover of the measure. The American Federation of Labor declares that it was greatly instrumental in bringing about this movement, when its delegates, at their national convention in 1919, declared in favor of congressional action to further the dissemination of practical information necessary to secure reasonable care for every mother and child. The bill was made part of the Democratic party platform in the last presidential election, and President Harding, too, had repeatedly expressed his hope that it will be given speedy ratification and enactment.

But was it really necessary for the Government to intervene in this problem and take upon itself the task and the privilege of teaching the proper method of motherhood to its women? In the first place, will the Sheppard-Towner bill be effective in bringing about a betterment of conditions in this regard? Senator Borah, who is also a figure of some national importance, thinks that it will not. The bill provides for annual appropriations of which each State is to receive a definite share, the remaining

sum to be apportioned among the various States in the proportion which their population bears to the total population of the United States, provided that the legislature of each State appropriates an equal sum for the maintenance of services and facilities provided for in the act. "Under the present terms of the bill," believes Senator Borah, "very little of the appropriation will get further than to take care of the additional offices and salaries which it will require."

IS IT SOUND?

PRESIDENT HARDING, in his Plymouth speech, spoke as follows:

We must combat the menace in the growing assumption that the State must support the people, for just government is merely the guarantee to the people of the right and opportunity to support themselves. The one outstanding danger of today is the tendency to turn to Washington for the things which are the tasks or the duties of the forty-eight commonwealths which constitute the State.

And the question arises, whether the move for Federal aid in the betterment of maternity conditions is included in the President's condemnation of centralization of power. There are authorities, not altogether negligible, who believe that it makes for undue governmental paternalism. Miss Alice Robertson, the present woman member of Congress, for instance, claims that its only purpose is to build up more of a Federal machine and to loot the treasury under the guise of a worthy object. The American Medical Association, formerly strongly in favor of the measure, now condemns it as economically unsound, as tending towards centralization, and as delegating functions to the Federal Government which should be administered locally or by the States. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage fears that its purpose is to break ground for the dissemination of information on birth-control, and that it is headed towards free-love and Socialism in general. Senator Reed of Missouri, in a description of mother-love, described as "an excellent specimen of the flights of oratory some of our law-makers indulge in at times, even during discussion of the driest subjects," states, in unequivocal terms, that no legislation, no outside interference of any sort can do more in the relations existing between mother and child, than that mother-love which is "the golden cord that binds the earth to God."

PATERNALISM

WHATEVER the validity of some of these arguments against Federal aid, it seems certain that the ever-rampant danger of paternalism is present in this instance. The individual States and communities might well have taken this matter in hand, but it seems unnecessary, even inadvisable, that it should have been made matter for national legislation and for the establishment of a national bureau, or the employment of an existing bureau in this work, just as the establishment of national control over educational work has been opposed on the ground of undue centralization of power in the hands of the State, although there are admitted defects in the current educational system.

There are many imperfections in humankind and in the relations existing between men, but why should the Government, immediately upon the perception of these imperfections presume, that a cure be effected only through its panacea of law-making? As Senator Reed has said:

There are some who believe in this sort of thing, who think the Government should regulate everything. They believe that if Congress were to pass a bill directing all men to be happy, every human face would hereafter wear a smile of perpetual joy. These enthusiasts seem to believe we can disregard human nature, the experience of the ages, the environments of life, the conditions under which God Almighty planted human beings on this earth, and all that we have to do is to pass a bill, and all will be serene and lovely. Unhappily the epitaph of all such ventures is failure! failure! failure!

If the love of mother for child, and the love of us all, children,

for the tender being that bore us, and for her like the world over has been unable to bring about perfection, will legislation do it? It is, forsooth, but another futile thrust of the charlatan who would trust his own judgment in realms where the Angels dare not be heard.

ANTHONY M. BENEDIK.

NOTE AND COMMENT

Centenary of Gonzaga College

GONZAGA College, Washington, D. C., the oldest Jesuit college in the country but one, Georgetown, has just celebrated its centenary. Its alumni came from all parts of the country to join in the exercises which lasted five days. The college has a notable history. Its first president was the distinguished Father Kohlmann, S.J., sometime administrator of the diocese of New York, and later professor of theology in the Gregorian University, Rome, where the late Pope Leo XIII was one of his pupils. In the early days Gonzaga numbered among its pupils boys of the most prominent families of the country. Some of these, for instance, "Fighting Bob" Evans, whose book contains whimsical reference to the college, afterwards attained great fame. In 1849 President Zachary Taylor was present at the commencement exercises, a gracious act on his part, for in those days these functions were even more terrible than now. In 1851, for example, the semi-annual exhibition began at 9.00 a. m. and ended late in the afternoon, because "there were sixty-four speakers on the program." What then must a commencement have been?

The centennial celebration bore ample testimony to the value of classical training which is slowly passing into oblivion. There was a Latin ode worthy of an old Roman of literary ability, and a Greek ode of no less power. Degrees were conferred on distinguished men of many professions; on a Senator of the United States; on an admiral; on judges, lawyers, doctors, priests, all worthy men. *Prosit, Gonzaga.*

Sir Roger Casement's Diary Appearing

THE hitherto unpublished manuscript of the personal diary of Sir Roger Casement is at present appearing in the *Nation*. The first installment was published in the issue for November 30. The diary begins at the time of Casement's mission to Germany in 1914, and contains a retrospect of the preceding ten years. After the death of Casement this diary came into the possession of Dr. Charles E. Curry, the mathematician and physicist, who was entrusted by Sir Roger with all his personal effects and writings. In the foreword of the document, as now being published, Dr. Curry recounts the services of Casement in the Congo and the Putumayo, describes the honors received by him in England, and then sets forth the events that made him the champion of Irish nationalism. Altogether, the diary promises to make most interesting reading.

A Solemn Condemnation

SPEAKING with his wonted clarity and vigor, the Archbishop of New York has called attention in a public letter to the grave social dangers which undoubtedly will follow the birth-control propaganda.

Confronted with such social problems as the gangster, the drug-addict, girl-traffic, and the like, our welfare agencies, public and private, are sadly depressed to see tolerated for a moment the danger of spreading among our unmarried young people of both sexes the immoral lure of passion and irresponsibility lurking in the present birth-control advocacy which aims at making the marriage-relation more lustful and less fruitful. Social evils hardly imaginable will follow in quick order and with terrible consequences.

That these evils will follow, no one who has the least ac-

quaintance with human nature can deny. Their direct bearing on the question has never been discussed by the birth-controllers, probably because they see nothing in marriage but a social convention, and believe that if the parties concerned agree to form a union not sanctioned either by the law or by religion, it is wholly their own concern. This belief, of course, embodies an unspeakable immorality, destructive alike of individual and social well-being. The demand that the knowledge of contraceptives be spread, may well be met by the question "Among whom? The married or the unmarried?" The Archbishop concludes his statement:

The Catholic Church's condemnation of birth-control (except it be self-control) is based on the natural law, which is the eternal law of God applied to man, commanding the preservation of the moral order and forbidding its disturbance. Therefore the Church has but one possible thing to do, namely, to accept and obey the will of the Supreme lawgiver.

For Catholics the case is not debatable. Every act of this kind is a grievous sin, and Catholics who persist in it cannot be admitted to the Sacraments.

Jesuit Colleges and Foch

MANY honors have been conferred upon Marshal Foch during his visit to the United States, but apparently none more welcome than those conferred by the Jesuit colleges. During the last ten or fifteen days he got honorary degrees from Boston College, Fordham and Georgetown Universities. At Georgetown, the 25,000 students of Jesuit universities and colleges in the United States presented him with a jeweled sword. The presentation took place in the presence of distinguished officers of Church and State, on the porch of the old North Building, once the site of the U. S. Capitol, the very place which Washington, Lafayette, Grant, Johnson and many other men of international fame visited. In reply to the presentation address and the proclamation of the degree, Marshal Foch modestly said:

My success in the World War was due to the efforts of others. Any success that I may have attained in life I owe to the Jesuit fathers of St. Clement's College, Metz, and the principles which they taught me—God and country.

While I cannot salute the reverend Fathers of my youth, I nevertheless salute their worthy successors.

His reception at Fordham University was no less distinguished. Great throngs of people warmly greeted the Marshal who reciprocated the courtesy. Towards the close of the exercises of extreme dignity the Marshal was proclaimed LL.D. and in answer spoke as follows:

I feel proud today to receive the degree conferred upon me by Fordham University, this shrine of religion, learning, and patriotism. That degree I am proud to receive at the hand of my old masters. I was a student at the Jesuit College of St. Clement, Metz. "*In memoriam, in spem.*" Yes, but more than that did I take with me. I took the lesson of how to work, and with it I carried away the Divine light of faith to guide me to success in my work, and to strengthen me to live up to what is good and right. I did not come here to speak my own praises, but to pay a tribute of praise to those who have been my teachers and to tell them my gratitude. Now in my declining years, as I look upon these students I have but one word of advice to offer: work according to the directions of your teachers. Let that same Divine light guide you in your labors and your success will be assured. There is much that I might say in detail as I call to memory the past—but my hope for the future is in you young men.

Foch has many great qualities, but the greatest of all are his simplicity and faith.

Incidentally, the statement made by several newspapers: "Foch received part of his early schooling with the Jesuits" is quite untrue. Not only did Marshal Foch complete his classical and philosophical courses with the Jesuits, but at St. Clement's the future Marshal was guided by them in his first military studies.